

READINGS
IN
GUIDANCE

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READINGS IN GUIDANCE

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Preface

AN OUTSTANDING NEED in the area of guidance at the present time is for the compilation of important and definitive periodical writings into one textbook. The collection of articles presented in this textbook is an attempt to meet this need. The readings include discussions of today's guidance program in terms of its relevant antecedents, present practices, and problems yet to be solved. Such a compilation of original writings can have great utility for counselors-in-training, counselors-in-service, and counselor-trainers.

The counselor-in-training is afforded an opportunity to approach the study of guidance through the direct writings of the leaders in the field—an approach which greatly supplements the typical textbook organization. It can be anticipated that, as a result of using a text of readings, the student will be encouraged to continue reading the professional periodical literature after the completion of his period of formal study. Using original sources will enable the student to develop a more critical attitude toward the basic textbook summaries and interpretations made by others of the original writings. Furthermore, first-hand knowledge gained through the original writings will enable the student to develop a critical understanding of a given point of view. Equally important from a practical standpoint is the benefit to the student who tries to obtain these articles from a library that may not have them in sufficient quantity for class use or may not have them at all.

A recent development is the increasing number of guidance courses that are being offered by various institutions to extension students—those students who take the course away from the campus, usually in their own town at the local public school. It is usually impossible to arrange a suitable reading program for these students because of the inaccessibility of library services.

PREFACE

A textbook of readings, such as this, can be of inestimable value in upgrading the quality of material presented to extension students.

The counselor-in-service, who too frequently has not had the time or the opportunity to keep abreast of recent developments in guidance since leaving his training institution, will have immediate access to current periodical literature through the use of this text. Typically, the most important educational and psychological journals are not readily available to these individuals on the job.

A sourcebook of periodical writings can be invaluable to the counselor-trainer in helping him to integrate into his own thinking and teaching much of the relevant literature of the past decade. It also provides him with an extremely convenient tool which can ensure to some degree that significant and important writings will be read by the students because of their availability in one text. Finally, because of the tremendously rapid expansion of guidance services in the past decade, the demand for guidance courses at the college level has increased greatly. In many institutions there is little opportunity for specialization, and guidance courses are taught by instructors for whom guidance is not a major area. A sourcebook is invaluable in enabling those instructors to develop a familiarity with the relevant literature.

To select materials for such a wide diversity of readers—the beginning student of guidance, the advanced student, the practicing counselor, the counselor-trainer—was a very complex task. The solution was to provide introductory and transitional material that would enable the most advanced article to be assimilable by the beginning student. In fact, the original writings by the editors of this compilation make it usable as a basic guidance textbook. The organization follows the usual outline of the basic textbook and the transitional material provides the necessary continuity.

The book is divided into five parts. Part One serves as an introduction and discusses backgrounds, patterns, and personnel of guidance services; Part Two contains selections dealing with the guidance service of appraisal; Part Three deals with counseling; Part Four discusses vocational guidance, group guidance, and community services; and Part Five evaluates guidance today and discusses some current trends.

The reader should realize that in a book of compilations such as this, although a stringent effort has been made by the editors to retain objectivity in terms of complete and unbiased coverage of the systematic points of view, inevitably the selections to some extent, and most certainly the interpretations in the introductory material, are in part a function of our biases and theoretical inclinations. The reader will have to be the final judge of the degree to which objectivity has been attained.

In certain readings unessential or irrelevant material has been deleted. The

authors have either given permission to delete or have reread the deleted articles. In order to preserve the continuity and hence provide smoother reading, these deletions have not been indicated within the text.

The real authors of this text, of course, are those writers and publishers who have granted us permission to use their materials. These writers and publishers are identified at the point of presentation of their articles. To all of them we extend our appreciation and gratitude.

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READINGS IN GUIDANCE

PART ONE

Introduction and Overview



- I. BACKGROUNDS OF GUIDANCE
- II. GUIDANCE PROGRAMS
- III. GUIDANCE PERSONNEL
- IV. GUIDANCE AND THE CURRICULUM

CURRENT EVENTS, epitomized by man's entrance into outer space and the promise of what the future potentially holds for mankind, coupled with the threat of cataclysmic upheavals between the great powers, have brought the entire educational process into close scrutiny again. This reappraisal and re-examination have been initiated by an inquiring and somewhat anxious public, not by educators themselves. The main objective is to redefine the goals of education to determine to what extent they are consistent with the demands of a world that is changing at a faster rate than perhaps at any other time in history. The evaluation is not being carried out dispassionately and objectively, with careful weighing of the facts and evidence of achievement and failure, with examining objectives in terms of underlying philosophical assumptions, and with relating these assumptions to a rapidly changing society to determine their validity. It is being carried out in an aura of threat and anxiety that will exert pressure on education in the American scene for many years.

The charge and criticism that is being hurled at the school is that it has not successfully prepared youth to maintain America's leadership position in the areas of science and technology, now a matter of national survival. Suggestions for wholesale modification and radical reorganization of the public school system are coming from every quarter, with the emphasis upon development of objectives, techniques, and procedures that will insure American leadership in the world.

The implications of this reassessment for guidance are extremely important. Since mid-twentieth century, guidance programs in our public schools have been asked to help meet such challenges as those of Sputnik, of automation, of increased school enrollments, of increased curricular offerings, of preventing juvenile delinquency, of reducing mental illness, and of increasing job satisfaction. Individuals such as James Conant and many others emphasize the great social need for improved guidance and counseling services.

Guidance programs have been asked to help students identify and utilize their talents so that they may attain an optimal degree of self-realization and make a maximum contribution to the preservation of our way of life.

Such demands raise basic questions for the professional guidance worker; such questions as: What is his responsibility to the individual? What is his responsibility to society? Are these responsibilities compatible, or are there elements of contradiction? Is it possible that in our society there is a need for more direction and channeling of talent into specific vocational and occupational areas than has been considered possible heretofore, or is the risk to our basic freedom and the rights of the individual such that this cannot be

done? What are the moral and social considerations that underlie guidance and counseling?

Nicholas Hobbs says in a subsequent article that "fundamentally, we are more heavily committed to a free society than we are to a technically advanced society." Can a free society in this stage of the development of civilization exist in less than a technically advanced society?

This is not the place for resolution. The question is being raised here only to point out to the reader that with guidance and counseling is associated moral and ethical choice that has far-reaching social implications. The decisions that the counselor and the student reach together, compounded thousands of times, are the bases upon which the society will direct its activities. Professional counselors at all educational levels must be obtained to meet adequately the demands made by society upon the guidance and counseling service.

Part One will begin the presentation of guidance and counseling with readings which discuss the basic assumptions, the organizational patterns, and the personnel upon which guidance services are based.

• I •

Backgrounds of Guidance

1. THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF GUIDANCE

MAN'S EFFORTS to understand himself and his relationship to his society and the universe are evident in historical writings. Human behavior has been studied from various approaches, many of which have contributed to the development of modern guidance practices. Historically, significant contributions to the development of guidance services have come from philosophy, psychology, science, sociology, and anthropology.

In any age, "man's treatment of man" has been based upon underlying assumptions concerning human nature, with the ascribed cause determining the treatment. For the ancient Egyptians, human behavior was bound up with mythology and superstition; magic and supernatural forces manipulated observable phenomena. Following these assumptions came the rational empiricism of Greek science. Notable in this era was the Hippocratic view that observable mental aberrations were strictly natural phenomena.

During the Middle Ages superstition once more came to prominence; mental aberrations seemed particularly susceptible to religious interpretations. In explaining the cause of human behavior, the only question concerned was what supernatural force was involved—lunar, satanic, or divine. The theological view of the wickedness of witches helped create the attitude that the mentally ill were dangerous and inferior and should be considered as being hardly above the animals. As a consequence, such hapless individuals were treated brutally.

A long period of retrogression set in which lasted for centuries after the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, rediscovery of classical learning during the

Renaissance did not extend to the humane medical pioneers of Greece, and it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that an upheaval occurred in Europe in the area of human relationships, the destiny of which was to reshape man's treatment of man. The essence of the Age of Reason and Enlightenment can be expressed by Pope's maxim, "The proper study of mankind is man." Early in the century, because of scientific advances, the idea developed that the world could be made a better place in which to live; but before any desire to improve conditions for the handicapped developed, sympathy for these people had to be engendered. Science provided the means, but the motivation to employ the means had to be born of a humane feeling.

The centuries-long decline of the splendid pioneering of the Greek physicians was finally checked in the eighteenth century by those titans of psychiatry, Pinel of France, Tuke of England, and Rush of America. Thus was preserved the contact between the moral treatment of earlier days and the psychotherapies developed in the twentieth century.

These attempts to understand unusual human behavior and to cure the causes thereof have had implications for modern guidance. Today, now that abnormalities are no longer passively and fatalistically accepted, the effort to assist the individual who has a problem underlies the philosophy of modern school guidance.

Freud's contributions to guidance practice are extensive, for the psychoanalytic methods of psychotherapy have had strong impact upon most of the current theories of counseling. For example, catharsis, the process of lessening psychological tensions by talking through one's problems, is a procedure recognized as basic in most modern counseling. The present status of counseling is presented in Part Three.

Along with scientific developments in many areas emerged the field of psychological measurement. The basic work in this area was done during the two decades before and after 1900. Galton, in England, laid the foundations for many of the current statistical procedures which underlie testing. It remained for Binet and Simon in France to construct the first successful intelligence test. The initial use of this test was in an educational setting. From this work evolved the tremendous developments in the field of tests and measurements that were to dominate psychological effort for the next twenty years. Many of the new measurement devices of intelligence, achievement, aptitude, interest, and personality have proved to have value for both the curriculum and guidance functions of the schools. Part Two of this book is devoted to the use of appraisal instruments in guidance.

In this country during the last fifty years continual readjustments of individuals and of society have been necessary because of such factors as rapid industrial development, geographical mobility, increased leisure time, and the emphasis upon self-awareness which is now an object of popular concern. In this period of transition and increasing fluidity, it is understandable that the schools have been required to give increasing attention to the vocational future of pupils.

The beginnings of the vocational guidance movement date back to early in this century. The term "vocational guidance" was originated by Frank Parsons who established the Vocational Bureau in 1908. The Bureau trained vocational counselors who worked in the schools and other community agencies and who attempted to sponsor intelligent occupational choices on the part of their clients.

The vocational guidance movement was influenced by John Dewey. His emphasis upon the role of individual experience in shaping mature personalities and abilities led logically to a school program which would include occupational preparation. Vocational guidance activities further were stimulated by the advent of psychological tests which aided in the evaluative processes. Additional strengthening of the movement came about as a result of various Federal subsidies for vocational guidance. The George-Dean Act, implemented in 1938, established firmly the foundations of vocational guidance in the schools by providing the necessary financial aid.

Vocational guidance has often been a vehicle by means of which other school guidance services have been initiated. From this beginning many schools have proceeded to establish a more complete guidance program. Vocational guidance today is discussed in Chapter XI.

Developments in the social sciences since 1900 have provided important concepts which have been incorporated into school guidance practices. Particularly, research in the fields of social psychology and cultural anthropology has provided a new understanding of the environment's powerful influence upon personality.

The theoretical foundations of this contribution are to be found chiefly in the Gestalt school of psychology. The summation of "the whole is greater than the sum of the parts," supported by Lewin's "field theory," influenced much of the contemporary thought on perception and communication, both of which are intimately connected with counseling.

An example of the kind of contribution made by cultural anthropology to the understanding of the importance of environment upon personality formation is found in the research done by Margaret Mead in Samoa. Mead reported that adolescence is not at all a disruptive experience in Samoa and suggested that maladjustment among adolescents in our country may be the result of inconsistent cultural expectations. Cultural anthropologists have pointed out the range and variety of acceptable behavior in various cultural groups and have provided convincing evidence that personality is deeply influenced by social pressures.

The personality of any individual at any point in time is the result of interacting factors, one of which is the environment, or nurture. Other factors also affect human personality. Physical characteristics direct and limit the individual's behavior. This physical equipment is nature's contribution to part of man's personality.

The interaction of nature and nurture produces a stable, although continually changing, personality. Neither of the two in isolation is adequate to ex-

plain behavior. The attempts of an adolescent to find his role in life are expressions of the interacting complex of physical factors in the context of cultural demands.

The learning process by which the unfolding nature of the individual is influenced, shaped, and modified is called *socialization*. Groups of people often hold behaviors, values, and techniques in common. In this situation, these shared formulas for living are called a *culture*. It is possible for an individual to be a member of many cultures. For example, a man might at one time be a member of the Doe family culture, Southern California lower-middle class culture, and American culture.

Organizations of people within a culture are often given responsibility for perpetuating certain aspects of the culture. Such an organization of people is called a *social institution*. In our culture the most important social institution is the *family*. Other social institutions play important parts in the socialization process. Frequently the *church*, the *peer group*, and the *school* have a major impact on the behavior of the individual.

The socialization function of the school is carried on through curriculum and guidance activities. The socialization function of the curriculum has as its first objective the development of basic academic skills. As schooling progresses, the objectives of the curriculum become more extensive and complex.

The important emphasis in the socialization function of guidance activities is not what is taught but *who* is taught. The individual pupil with his unique needs and abilities is the focal point of guidance. Ideally, guidance activities attempt to provide school services which will maximize the effectiveness of the educational experience for each individual.

Curriculum and guidance functions interact to facilitate the educational process. Each is weakened without the other. An effective classroom teacher is continuously concerned with meeting both curriculum and guidance objectives.

This brief historical introduction has surveyed some of the contributions made to the school guidance movement by the disciplines of philosophy, psychology, science, sociology, and cultural anthropology, as well as those made by the vocational guidance movement. Following chapters will explore how these contributions have affected the basic concepts of guidance, the guidance program, and guidance personnel.

1. THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF GUIDANCE

The following article by Gardner Murphy is implicitly addressed to the proposition of considering guidance within not only its educational framework but its overall social context. Guidance workers are engaged in the task of distribution of human resources and, even more important, in the task of influencing directly the very character and personality of the individuals with whom they come into contact. This makes it mandatory for the guidance worker to have a clear-cut understanding of the philosophical bases upon which he influences youth and selects his guidance techniques. His underlying philosophical premises should be articulate and applicable to a dynamic society—a society changing not only in terms of its physical and material aspects, but in traditions, values, and outlook upon life.

This article is placed at the very beginning to remind the reader that although we are here concerned with guidance to the apparent exclusion of other important considerations in education and society, such exclusion does not mean that these other considerations are not of the utmost importance.

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF GUIDANCE

In deep appreciation of this opportunity to share with you some reflections about guidance, I am going to rephrase a question which has insistently challenged every man and woman in our field, namely the question: Should he who gives guidance convey his own personal system of values to his client, or should he restrict himself to technical assistance in enabling the client to discover his own implicit values and to realize them? What reticences should the counselor maintain; and how much of himself should he give? In attempting to an-

swer this question, I shall first state my prejudices about the role of counselor and guide, and then draw some conclusions which I fear may impress you as very unorthodox, indeed. I shall use the term *guide* and the term *client* in the broadest possible sense, to designate him who gives and him who receives personnel and guidance services, respectively.

The giving of advice is a universal human weakness. The giving of *professional* advice has always been an accepted function of priests and physicians; likewise, often, of

[From Gardner Murphy, "The Cultural Context of Guidance," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 34 (1955): 4-9. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

teachers, lawyers, chieftains, statesmen, and many others. In our own Western tradition, in particular, counseling has for the most part been a function encouraged among the clergy; and secondarily, among medical and legal counselors. It is only within the last few decades that a professional group of counselors has arisen independent of those ancient professional groupings. The responsibility is, consequently, all the greater. Ours is a society of specialization, and a specialized counselor is supposed to have something specialized to offer.

There is an enormous danger here. Specialization, whether of machinery or of human skills, involves the giving up of scope and range, in order to achieve concentration at one point. I wonder whether you encounter, as I do, many overspecialized professional persons who have lost much of the sense of that human nature and human society which they are supposed to express. I wonder whether you encounter, as I do, those who are supposed to do Ph.D. dissertations with highly refined measures who are discouraged from the attempt to see the broad human context in which their research is being carried out. I wonder whether you are annoyed, as I am, by encountering personnel people and guidance people in large number who are more preoccupied with their special craft skills than they are with the broad perspective of the function which they are carrying out. I would go so far as to say that a knowledge of human ways and of the ways of their own cultural group is far more important than the skills which they can acquire. I believe you agree with me; yet I wonder to what degree you implement your judgment by striving to force the universities and the other training centers concerned with guidance to view philosophically and in a social context the personalities of those who guide and those who are guided.

The problem of standardization of interchangeable parts and the job specifications which make it possible to define what is required in each job, and how each person

can exhibit his specialized capacity to fill such a job, has already moved to a point where the emphasis is upon the niceties of the function, rather than upon the persons who are interacting. In one field with which I am associated, namely, the field of nursing, the issue is already calamitous. When I talked to the American Nurses Association, last year, I was met by a mass response of agreement to my thesis that nurses are overprofessionalized, that they know more and more about less and less, as far as dealing with people is concerned. I wonder if the same is not true of ourselves. We see everywhere in clinical psychology today the drive for the so-called raising of standards. This is often an excuse for piling more and more courses on students who are already worried to death by the sheer amount of stuff they are supposed to master and by the limited possibilities of warm relationships with their teachers and with one another during this long and difficult period of training. It seems to me that many clinicians have learned very little about keeping their own house in order. They force their students into savage competitive relations with one another, keep them under continuous strain, give them the economic and narcissistic rewards of grades and part-time work; yet keep remote from them and as far as they can, keep them from warm fellowship with one another. Are the personnel and guidance people better off, in the matter of applying what they know about the cultural and personal context in which guidance can be really effective?

The basic issue, as I see it, is personality versus technique. Of course, some would ask me not to draw the issue so sharply. They would say it is not personality and technique, but personality exhibited through technique. I would *like* to agree with this; but there are very definite limitations on the amount of time we can give to choosing those who are to serve in guidance roles, and we are giving so little time to studying them as people, largely because we are

giving so much time to studying their special skills. The bad pay-off at the University of Michigan is already very evident in the beautiful job which they did there in an attempt to find out who would make good clinical psychologists.

There is just not enough attention being given to personality and interpersonal relationships, and a major reason is that so much attention is given to technical craft skills. If you wish, I will restate the point in the following way: the skills should be ways of strengthening the personality and the interpersonal relationships. The skills should be ways of enabling the guide to function more humanly, more informally, more warmly, more effectively, through understanding the person more fully that he is guiding. Skills from this point of view can be taught, if there are the teachers who are sensitized to such issues, and students who are allowed to develop as people, and not simply as students who earn A's in courses.

THE CONCEPT OF SELF-REALIZATION

I think perhaps the most important issue today is this concept of self-realization, to which many different schools of therapy have drawn our attention. I have in mind some of the Freudians, some of the Sullivanians, and many of the Rogerians, who are giving their major attention to the question of self-realization. The point that I would stress is that self-realization on the part of the person guided is likely to be feasible only if there is a lot of self-realization on the part of the guide. This means, of course, ego-involvement; it means feeling fully and deeply absorbed in the tremendous human importance of what one is doing. It also means, as Everett Bovard has shown, *group-involvement*. He had the problem of determining how it is that one educates people for sympathetic and understanding response to their fellows. Does one accomplish this by counseling

people to be sympathetic? Hardly. Bovard had four sections of elementary psychology. Two were taught by the student-centered method; that is, each student shot his questions at the instructor. Two were taught by a group-centered method; that is, the instructor, after opening the session, kept in the background, and the students fired questions at one another, learned what was bothering the others. Later, without warning, motion picture films about the emotional difficulties of children were shown to these classes. Who do you think understood these difficulties, picked up the emotional challenge? When the four sections were compared, it was those who had been taught by the method of group involvement that had learned the most. They had learned this, not by being told, but by getting the feeling. So, too, your clients often learn, not by being told, but by getting the feeling. A great deal of what you communicate to your client is not what you say, but what you are. One learns to deploy one's feelings toward people in a rich way, just as one learns to deploy muscular contractions in a particular way when one learns cabinet making or surgery.

This leads, of course, into the wide outdoors of modern sociology in which one realizes that it is only a grasp of the full interpersonal context that makes any particular craftsman in the service skills really useful. Here we have David Riesman, for example, reminding us that the inner-directed individualists of another era are finding new pastures in which to wander further and further away from the immediate reality in which most of us are caught, namely the outer-directed world in which each one of us becomes progressively more and more sensitized to what other people think of us. The guide must be an individual, aware of the interpersonal pressures and coercions applied to every individual who goes forth from our hands into a new task. We are preparing people, through training and guidance, for a broad role, not for a specific niche in society. We can

no longer use a Taylor system or a round-peg-in-round-hole conception of adaptation. The person adapts not to a task, but to a social context. Are we well enough informed about the social context to be able to give adequate guidance?

This means that we must be sensitized mainly to American character and to the ways in which it is changing. No static picture of what American life is like today will help in guiding the young person who is trying to get his bearings. He must be given, as Margaret Mead has so beautifully brought out, not merely the capacity to adapt to his environment, but the capacity to maintain flexibility, the capacity to learn at each step how to adjust to new changes which are bound to come.

This leads us into a field view as contrasted with an individualist view of the job of personnel and guidance. Kurt Lewin and Harry Stack Sullivan, among others, have taught us to realize that no individual makes an adaptation to a situation without in some sense causing the situation to adapt to him. One sets going in one's client a series of interactions for which ultimately one cannot escape responsibility. Moreover, the client sets going in us reactions which lead far afield. The interpersonal transactions cannot be avoided. They can only be more fully understood. This means a sensitization of ourselves to the way in which we change as a result of the guidance we give, and a study of the changes in others as a result of their contact with us. This will lead—as Robert Sears, among others, has shown—to a science that will deal not simply with persons, but with interpersonal events; dyadic functions, he calls them, reactions which are expressions of the unique individualities and reciprocities of a given situation.

RESEARCH A PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY

This is a way of saying that since new concepts are involved *research* on the per-

sonnel and guidance function is itself a primary responsibility. As we achieve more and more recognition and power in our society, so much the greater is the responsibility upon us to find out what we are actually doing to people, when it is done well, when it is done poorly, where it can be rectified, where omissions can be corrected. Just as it is worthwhile for large corporations to put aside one or two per cent per year of gross earnings for research which may or may not pay off many years hence, so it is worthwhile for those concerned with personnel and guidance to lay aside explicitly a certain amount of the total economic return to do basic research on the effectiveness of what is done. This, I would humbly suggest, is only to a small degree a question of finding out how well we do our job from a technical point of view. It is very much more a question of finding what happens to people, as people; what happens to the social order as a result of the constant filtering into society of those who have gone through the guidance process. This is social research on a grand scale which can only be achieved through group planning, not through occasional individual bright thoughts lacking implementation through the social structures of which we are members.

Another organic expression of the same view of social context lies in the way in which the modern student of personnel and guidance must think of changing persons. Under the impact of early psychoanalysis, many a person practicing guidance thought of himself as making changes inside the person guided, almost in the manner in which the surgeon removes something, or, through deep x-rays, causes the disintegration of malignant cells, perhaps in many cases as ways in which a remedy prescribed to be taken by mouth is supposed to cause internal remedial changes in the patient. A completely different conception of medicine is to find situations in which a person can function so that nothing has to be incorporated within his body, but only

an opportunity given him to live. I think very often the social science approach, which I am here pleading for, may mean a fuller understanding of situations open to the client, so that situations can be found which are releasing to him. In my judgment, the major value of Moreno's approach has been the sensitive discovery of optimal environments in which each person may be able to realize himself and function adequately. One has to understand social environments in depth and in range, however; one has to be a student of American culture, in order to know how to utilize effectively such situations as can be made available.

An illustration of the new approach appears in the handling of the problem of desegregation in recent years. Whereas earlier it would have been thought necessary to blast prejudices and discriminatory habits out of people, in order to make them fit to live with people of other social groups, the desegregation experience of recent years has shown that situations can be so controlled that people of different skin color or different religion can define common goals toward which they all aspire to find an answer. Situations can be planned in housing projects or recreational tasks or community rebuilding efforts, so that the very nature of the task and of the activity capable of meeting this task leads promptly and effectively to changed interpersonal attitudes.

THE ROLE OF GUIDANCE

This is about as far as I would wish to pursue the concept of guidance as therapy. I would view guidance not so much as a way of bypassing fundamental weaknesses—which I believe in general you are not going to succeed in bypassing—but as discovering capacities for social warmth and outgoingness, capacity to enjoy and work with other people, the capacity to become effective members of the community. Naturally, the transference and counter-transference relationships, as discovered by psychoanaly-

sis, will be fundamental in the mutual education and humanization process of client and guide; but the task will go on beyond a Freudian definition into a region in which the guide, fully aware of the resources of the community to which the guided person goes, will be able to sensitize and mobilize the client's strength; and perhaps in many cases likewise reach out to build up within families, agencies, communities, the resources which will come to meet the client half way. I have no more respect for narrow technical proficiency in therapy than I would for any other technical proficiency. To define counselors as therapists, kicking people upstairs from humble personnel workers to prestige-laden masters of therapy won't do much good. They must be selected for personality range and depth in the first place, and given as much range and depth as the years of their training will permit. The quality of the job can be no better than the quality of the people who are holding the job.

And just as the psychiatrists are today asking sociologists to help them study the social function of the psychiatrist, and to see broadly the way in which the psychiatrist contributes in individual and group situations, where he succeeds and where he fails, so I believe that a major responsibility of American personnel and guidance today is to begin systematic social research on the functions which are carried out, to see where it is well done, where it is poorly done; and how, through better social engineering, both the guides and the guided may become more wisely sensitive to changes in the social order and better able to meet the rapid changes which are already upon us. Is the APGA doing its share in promoting basic research?

THREE ANSWERS:

Now with this perspective I ask you to return with me to the problem with which we began: Shall personnel and guidance

work serve only the task of resolving an immediate problem, or attempt to impart a philosophy of life? I would attempt three answers:

First, while no one knows enough to construct an adequate philosophy of life, nevertheless, if he who offers guidance is a whole person, with real roots in human culture, he cannot help conveying directly or indirectly to every client what he himself sees and feels, and the perspective in which his own life is lived. Is it to be a technician's perspective, or are the techniques to be subordinated to wisdom in living? If the guide is more than a technician, he will not be afraid to guide. And the problem of selecting and training such guides, I suggest, is *far more a matter of sound, rich, generous, and wise personality than of tricks of the trade*, however important the latter may be when subordinated to the larger personal issues.

Second, it is not true that the wise man's sharing of a philosophy of life is an arrogant imposition upon a defenseless client. On the contrary, the risk of arrogance lies, I believe, in the technician's assumption that by virtue of his skills he can guide a whole person to move wisely in a complex and swiftly changing society. As we have noted, the young man and woman of today simply cannot be directed into paths guaranteeing a happy and effective life; they can only be assisted in developing into people with the maturity and the flexibility to solve new problems as these are presented.

Third, it is often said that all philosophies are subjective and arbitrary, and that one system of values is as good as another. But if you believed that, you would not have chosen personnel and guidance as a way of life. Your experience, moreover, has shown you that some values, such as those of sympathy, tenderness, generosity, and self-control resonate to the deeper chords of human nature, and that they are for that reason intensely practical and de-

pendable. Other values work badly, either because they cannot be solidly built into human nature or because they involve profound internal contradictions. The contemporary tendency, for example, to inculcate selflessness and idealism at the same time that one inculcates a completely self-centered plan for living to get what one can for oneself, leads sooner or later into grave conflict. Most preadolescents are already vaguely aware of this conflict, and many college students and young adults of my acquaintance have found the problem insoluble without some help from those who have thought it through and lived it through—usually by defining more clearly in what ways the realization of a personal goal can be made to coincide with a joyful dedication to the well-being of one's fellows. Those who can guide boys and girls, men and women, into a life full of zest in pursuing personal interests and at the same time serving the larger needs of a cooperative commonwealth are imposing nothing arbitrary; they are giving their clients a sounder, as well as a richer life.

I plead, then, for the exercise of courage, as well as wisdom. Do not attempt the arrogant and self-defeating task of guiding men and women without a rich, flexible, and ever-growing system of values of your own, and do not dare to exercise the powerful tools and skills of the modern personnel and guidance specialist, unless you realize fully that your words, and even your unexpressed attitudes, are capable of penetrating the whole personality of your client. If you are afraid of this much responsibility, do not assume the mantle of this specialty. Your task is a grave one, the burden of which you cannot renounce. As a physician of the last generation remarked, any medicine strong enough to do much good is strong enough likewise to do much damage. Make guidance the fullest realization of the best that you can give. Believe in your client; but believe also in yourself.

Selection of the following article by W. H. Cowley was made for several reasons. In this pioneer article (1937), Cowley traces the background of counseling services within their broad historical perspective. A basic rationale for the existence of guidance is implicit in the presentation. A second basis for the selection of the article is that it deals with the evolution of student personnel services in institutions of higher education. It can thus be used by the reader as a background against which current student personnel services in colleges and universities can be considered. In addition, it provides an illustration of basic similarities between "student personnel work" at the college and university level and "guidance" in the public schools.

Cowley lists three major areas of emphasis. These are (1) guidance as the personalization of education, (2) guidance as the integration of education, and (3) guidance as the coordination of student personnel services. The reader is invited to consider these three concepts in terms of their implications for guidance at the public school level. Relating this article to Murphy's comments in the preceding article regarding specialization of function also warrants consideration. Murphy's reading on the cultural context of guidance and Cowley's on the historical context give the reader the background of guidance.

PREFACE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF STUDENT COUNSELING

. . . [GUIDANCE] AS THE PERSONALIZATION OF EDUCATION

Specifically, why have schools and colleges appointed counselors? Among the several reasons which may be cited, the most important is this: counselors have been appointed to counteract the deadening mechanical limitations of mass education. Such a statement made as late as this in the personnel movement sounds very much like a platitude, but yet it is so frequently taken

for granted or even forgotten that a review of the historical facts seems to me not only to be in order but also to be essential. In this brief and sketchy scanning of the tangled past I shall confine myself to higher education, but much the same set of circumstances led to the appointment of counselors in the schools.

Until the time of the Civil War, college faculty members expressed a deep and persistent personal interest in their students. Most faculty members were clergymen, and as such they believed that the souls of their

[From W. H. Cowley, "Preface to the Principles of Student Counseling," *Educational Record*, 18 (April 1937): 218-234. Reprinted by permission of the author.]

students were quite as important as their minds. Because of their strict religious philosophy, they kept continuous watch over student behavior, set up elaborate codes of conduct, and daily visited students in their room to keep them from evil practices. Often they prayed with students individually, supplementing the daily chapel exercises which were long and compulsory. Revivals were annual and greatly stressed events, and the old histories of the colleges are filled as much with reports of students' religious life as with reviews of the curriculum and methods of instruction. Mark Hopkins, on his famous log, discussed the salvation of the student's soul quite as often as the liberation of his mind. In brief, before the great changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution, the colleges were intimate institutions, personal relationships between students and students and between students and faculty members being the most important characteristic of every college in the country.

The reaction against this excessive personal interest in students began with the rise of Unitarianism, and it spread slowly until all the leading colleges abandoned it. Religious fervor lost its appeal to educated minds. Faculties discovered that riots, rebellions, and gross moral lapses inevitably followed when students sobered from their emotional debauches in the name of religion. Higher education about this time also began to be overwhelmed by the tremendous expansion of knowledge attendant upon the rise of science and the new technology. Professors, a diminishing number of whom were clergymen, found it necessary, in order to keep up with the times, to neglect students and to bury themselves in their libraries and laboratories. The old variety of student relations died almost completely.

Students were to be considered adult men who could meet and solve their religious and other problems in any way they personally pleased. The college officially expressed but perfunctory interest.

This mood spread through all the avenues

of student life. The old and deeply ingrained interest in the housing of students vanished. Commons disappeared. The thick, detailed, and excessively stern rule books grew thinner and thinner. The elective system permitted a student to study what he pleased with no one to gainsay him if he chose nothing but elementary courses throughout all his four years. Finally, in 1886, Harvard adopted the continental philosophy of student life in toto by announcing that attendance at classes would no longer be taken for juniors and seniors, they being required substantially, only to pass examinations. What the student did with his time between registration at the beginning of the year and final examinations at the end, no one cared. In the course of four decades the temper of college authorities changed completely. Overweening paternalism gave way to almost complete indifference.

The public, however, refused to accept the new arrangements, and at the same time a number of leading professors and administrators also protested against them. At Harvard the situation came to a head when a student's well-laid plans to enjoy the new liberty went awry. Along with a number of his fellows, this particular student spent most of his time away from Cambridge. Since he did not think that his father would agree to any such plan, he wrote out a number of letters to him before leaving for an extended trip to Bermuda. His roommate agreed to mail them at proper intervals. Unfortunately, however, they neglected to tell the woman who cleaned their rooms of the plan. One day she discovered the pile of letters on the table; and since they were all addressed, sealed, and stamped, she forthwith mailed them. The irate father immediately appeared at President Eliot's office demanding an explanation. Alarmed, the Board of Overseers in haste reinstated the attendance ruling. Thus before 1890 ended Harvard's boldest adventure into impersonalization.

Meanwhile other factors toward indifference to students continued in operation, and

it was against these that protests came from individuals within the academic family. After 1870 the colleges began to grow with unprecedented and undreamed of rapidity. The size of classes mounted, first to include scores and later hundreds. The adoption of the elective system increased the number of units of instruction offered until in 1892-93 Harvard was offering 25,128 hours of instruction from which the student was required to pick only 1,872 in order to graduate. Won away from their established regimen by the glamour of research and the growing necessity to publish the results of investigation in order to gain promotion, faculty members lost much of their old interest in teaching. Administrative officers similarly dropped their intimate concern for student problems as they diverted their time and energies to raising money and developing their institutions into larger colleges or into universities. During the great growth of institutions of higher education in America beginning in the seventies the student became the forgotten man.

In the face of these developments a number of prominent individuals grew alarmed. Bryce, in his great work *The American Commonwealth*, shook his head in doubt about where American education was headed. He observed that "there is not a sufficiently close relationship between teacher and student," and he appealed for the establishment of the tutorial system following the patterns of Oxford and Cambridge. Professor Hadley of Yale wrote a book several years before his accession to the presidency at New Haven denouncing the new tendencies and calling for the preservation of the traditions of student life. Woodrow Wilson recognized the seriousness of the problem upon his assumption of the presidency at Princeton in 1920 and in order to change the trend, he established the preceptorial method of instruction. President Harper of the University of Chicago meanwhile repeatedly discussed the need of individualized student relationships and pre-

dicted that within fifty years the individualization of higher education would be achieved by the appointment of special officers who would devote their attention to the students as men and women rather than as minds merely. President Guy Potter Benton of Miami University predicted: "The day is not far distant when in every college we shall have a Professor of Individual Attention." And then in 1909 President Lowell, in his inaugural address, threw the weight of his great position behind the attacks upon impersonalization.

The large institutions began to recognize that something needed to be done to bring back the personal touch. Too many people were applying to student life in large institutions the slogan of a widely advertised brand of bread: "Untouched by human hands." As early as 1889 the Board of Freshman Advisers appeared at Harvard, and in 1890 the deanship at Harvard College, which had been essentially an academic office, was separated into two deanships providing an academic dean and a dean of student relations.

Other colleges followed rapidly in the same direction. Counselors of all varieties began to appear in large numbers after the war: deans of freshmen, junior deans, student counselors, deans of chapel, and any number of others. Some of these offices had existed before 1914, but the personnel movement really began to become self-conscious in the American college and university after 1918 in this reaction against impersonalization.

During these same years another attempt was made to personalize student relations, that is, the effort to individualize instruction. The preceptorial plan at Princeton, the tutorial program at Harvard, the honors courses at Swarthmore and dozens of other institutions were all efforts from the instructional point of view to meet these protests against the mechanization and de-humanization of higher education. This, however, is a development quite apart from personnel

work even though it is frequently confused with it. Our concern here is to recognize that personnel work is one of two major efforts in American higher education to bring back humanity and the personal touch to education. No matter how expert personnel people may be as technically trained psychological testers or diagnosticians, the real test of a personnel program is the extent to which it makes the student feel that he individually is important—that he is not being educated in a social vacuum. . . . Guidance is therefore, above all else the personalization of education.

. . . [GUIDANCE] AS EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION

Student counselors made their appearance in the college chiefly in answer to the growing protest against the impersonalization of education. Another consideration, however, entered into the situation. The spectacular expansion of knowledge attendant upon the nineteenth century flowering of science and the mechanization of modern life produced a curriculum literally thousands of times more extensive than that in vogue in the pre-Civil War college. In 1860, in practically every college in the country, every student took every course of instruction offered. Electives were unnecessary because the pattern of higher education had been historically established, and pressures from society were relatively few. Under the impact of the new forces playing upon American life, however, the fixed curriculum from 1825 on gave way slowly to the elective principle. White at Cornell and Eliot at Harvard, building upon the experiences of Harvard, Brown, Vermont, and Michigan, pushed it forward vigorously in the sixties and seventies; and when in 1884 Harvard dropped all required courses in its complete surrender to the elective system, hardly a college failed in some degree to follow her lead. A new régime had completely replaced the old, and instead of a

common core of knowledge for all educated men and women, higher education became "a thing of shreds and patches," a huge, shapeless expanse of courses.

With this growth of the curriculum and the extension of the elective system methods of instruction inevitably changed too. Historians of education greatly stress the abandonment of the recitation for the lecture and laboratory methods, but the most important change of all had to do not with these devices but rather with the specialization of instruction. The professor who taught a single subject in which he had specialized did not appear even at Harvard until the arrival of the nineteenth century, and in most colleges until almost the end of the century faculty members were expected to teach anything—and most of them did.

Because of this expansion of specialization and the extension of knowledge, the all-round scholar and teacher disappeared. In his place came the deeply but narrowly trained expert in a division of knowledge, in an ever diminishing slice of the curriculum. Science, to carry on its researches, had staked out knowledge into compartments, and in each compartment men worked upon the minute problems at hand, often, and indeed frequently, all but completely ignorant of the work afoot in other compartments. These boundary lines of scientific and scholarly research have been important in defining areas of investigation. They rapidly extended, however, into the domain of instruction, and soon all higher education became but a duplicate of the organization of research. The tidal wave of specialized instruction pushed before it all traces of the old-type breadth, and even the arts college and its tradition of liberal education became inundated.

Into the midst of this situation the student counselor has been projected. The unhappy results of the excessive subdividing of knowledge are coming to be generally recognized by everyone except those too deeply and too blindly entrenched in their specialties.

Survey courses initiated originally by Meiklejohn at Amherst are becoming more numerous and slowly more popular; the formula of concentration and distribution after the Harvard pattern has become almost universal; and a number of other methods have been proposed to achieve a more desirable integration of education. These devices have helped, but in most colleges the student counselor is, or is expected to be, the integrator. His job is not merely to personalize education, it is also to help the student to evolve a unified course of instruction. Left to himself the average student will wander miscellaneous through the curriculum. It is an important responsibility of the counselor to discover the student's talents and motivations and to put the resources of the institution at his service to develop and to carry them forward. It is similarly a responsibility of the counselor to integrate the student's instructional program not only to meet his personal needs but also to see that in a broad sense he becomes an educated man.

This, of course, is no easy task, particularly in the light of strict and often stupid faculty rules. As everyone knows who has served as a counselor, the obstacles of vested faculty interests often seem insurmountable, and it may well be that the only effective answer will be the complete reorganization of the curriculum in some such fashion as President Hutchins suggests, or after the example of some of the programs adopted by a handful of more progressive colleges. The next decade will throw much light upon how the problem of educational integration will be solved. Meanwhile in the present scheme of things, and in almost any future plan, the counselor must play a large part. Without integration there can be no acceptable education. That seems to be conceded by the best minds struggling with the problems of higher education. In most colleges no officer exists to undertake the function of integration except the counselor. He has, therefore, an opportunity of huge proportions. Even though the problems asso-

ciated with the undertaking be almost staggering in their complexity, the challenge must be met if counseling as an educational undertaking is ever to attain important status.

. . . [GUIDANCE] AS THE COORDINATION OF STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES

I have attempted, in discussing . . . [guidance] as the personalization and integration of education to answer the question which I stated at the outset: "Why schools and colleges appointed student counselors." I should like in this last section to discuss a consideration which is operational rather than historical: the problem, in brief, of the relationship of counseling to other student personnel services.

The broad variety of educational counseling which we are here discussing is, of course, but one of some fifteen or sixteen student personnel functions. A complete list takes in all relationships with students aside from formal instruction and business relationships. That definition of the field of student personnel activities seems now to be generally agreed upon. These functions include admissions, freshman orientation, health, services, student housing, loans and scholarships, employment placement, the administration of social life and extracurricular activities, and a number of others. All these undertakings are essential and inevitable under the present plan of American higher education, all are important, and all are closely related one to another. The most significant of them all, however, is educational counseling. I present this as a proposition, and I shall attempt to defend it.

Modern society and modern higher education have become so complex that a variety of personnel services have become necessary in colleges and universities. Many of them require the services of specialists. Physicians, of course, can alone undertake health services. Psychologists and psychia-

trists are the best individuals to help students solve effectively their emotional and social problems. Programs of extra-curricular activities have become so extensive that special officers have been appointed to direct and supervise them. The placement of students in part-time jobs and in permanent employment has assumed such proportions that literally hundreds of institutions have employed full-time men and women to administer them. Vocational counseling, wherever it is recognized to be an unavoidable responsibility of the college and wherever it is understood to be essentially a scientific job, requires experts. Through all the list of student personnel services specialization, in large institutions at least, has become inevitable. Even in small institutions different types of student relations are becoming more and more to be separated to be assigned to different individuals.

With all this growing specialization, the same danger faces student personnel programs as faced and overwhelmed instruction. Established primarily to overcome impersonalization and the forces of disintegration, personnel work is coming perilously near to falling into exactly these same errors. We are chopping up the student into bits, each bit being assigned to a different individual upon the personnel staff. The physician sees the student about his health and knows little if anything concerning his social, financial, and academic status. The director of part-time employment service sees him essentially, and perhaps entirely, as a boy who needs a job. The educational counselor frequently has no knowledge of him except the courses which he is taking. This is a critical state of affairs for personnel work. Of a certainty there is wisdom in a multitude of counselors, but the truth of this proverb must not permit us to allow the same sort of segmentation to develop which we have been appointed to counteract. Too many counselors are merely high-priced distributive clerks or narrowly trained technicians. The situation demands that we be enlightened and dynamic educators.

We see the pressing necessity for all these specialized services which we have established, but as yet we have, in general, arrived at no formula to bring an end to the confusion. I had an experience last year which illustrates this point. I was asked by the president of a small Ohio college to help him reorganize his personnel program. At a conference in his office with himself, the dean of men, and the dean of women, I raised this question: "Who in your institution sees the student as a whole person rather than as an individual with some specific problem needing solution? Who, in brief, knows everything about a student in relationship to his total personality?" The president and his two deans had apparently never thought about such a question. With hardly any further discussion they agreed that something needed to be done immediately to coordinate their student personnel efforts.

The proposal which I made and which they accepted proved to be workable. I suggested that the individual responsible for the educational counseling of the student (in their plan, the dean of men and the dean of women) be assigned the responsibility for counseling coordination. Their plan may best be visualized by considering the educational counselor as the hub of a wheel with the specialized counseling and other personnel services out on the circumference. The spokes of the wheel represent the routing of information from the specialists to the co-ordinating educational counselor. This counselor meets the student upon his matriculation, works with him as an individual, and directs him to other members of the staff who are best qualified to help him solve particular problems. In all instances, however, he comes back to the educational counselor together with the findings of the specialists unless, of course, he meets among the specialists a counselor with whom he discovers a greater rapport. With these facts before him the counselor is able to see the student from all discoverable angles; and if he is clever and sympathetic, the student considers

him to be the individual to whom he may best look for integrated, coordinated assistance.

A program such as this, of course, is difficult, particularly in large institutions. The machinery of higher education too frequently interferes with its objectives. We need, however, to recognize that the problem of excessive specialization in our own personnel services is one of our major problems, and we must, it seems to me, direct our continuous attention and concentrated intelligence upon it. We also have ever before us the insistent problem of the administrative coordination of personnel services. This, however, is not the same as the problem of

the coordination of counseling. The distinction is important although it may not now be developed. Enough in this discussion to point out the imperative necessity of organizing and correlating the counseling given to the individual student.

When we have solved this problem of coordination the quips of Boucher and others that personnel work is an educational fifth wheel will no longer annoy us. Of course personnel work is the fifth wheel! In all problems of student relations it's the most important wheel of all: the steering wheel. This, be assured, is not rhetoric but an administrative fact. It is, moreover, a challenging opportunity for all personnel people.

• II •

Guidance Programs



2. FUNCTIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF GUIDANCE PROGRAMS

3. GUIDANCE IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

THE text thus far has included basic concepts of guidance, a historical background, and a contextual placement of guidance within our society. The chief purpose of this chapter is to outline functions and organizations of guidance programs through which these concepts and principles are implemented. Section 3 deals specifically with problems in elementary school guidance programs.



2. FUNCTIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF GUIDANCE PROGRAMS

The first two selections of this chapter are concerned with the function and organization of guidance programs on the secondary school level. Each of the guidance services and techniques presented in the following chapters is



dependent upon the functions or purposes of the guidance program and the organizational pattern that has been established to carry out these functions. Do these functions as outlined by D. E. Kitch and W. H. McCreary seem to the reader to be the responsibility of the guidance program? And does the organizational pattern presented satisfy the reader as to its efficacy for carrying out these guidance functions? Would the functions and organizational pattern presented here be applicable to the elementary school?

FUNCTIONS OF A SECONDARY SCHOOL GUIDANCE PROGRAM

An organized guidance program in a secondary school may be expected to perform the three major functions discussed in the following sections.

I. To Assist the Individual Student to Achieve an Increasing Degree of Maturity in Working toward the Solution of His Varied Personal Adjustment Problems

Individuals will always face problems. The goal of a guidance program is to assist young people in solving problems as they arise and in so doing to acquire increasing ability to formulate their problems, to recognize resources that may be helpful to them in arriving at solutions, to make the necessary decisions in a mature and intelligent fashion, and to develop the ability to evaluate the results of the decisions they make. The guidance program of the school should be organized and conducted in such a manner as to achieve this goal through ways suggested in the following paragraphs.

1. Helping the individual to develop a better understanding of himself. This can be achieved by assisting him to evaluate him-

self, to recognize his individual strengths and weaknesses, understand his interests, and formulate his own standards of values. He should be assisted to recognize and handle his own feelings about himself and the various aspects of his environment and to develop an understanding of the motivations underlying his behavior. He should be aided in achieving the ability to recognize and formulate the problems which tend to block his progress.

2. Helping the individual to develop an understanding of his opportunities. The guidance program should be organized in such a manner as to insure that each youth will be informed of his opportunities for further education in the many types of public and private programs and facilities that are provided. Each youth must be helped to learn of the many and varied types of work which are open to him in a modern technological society. He should be helped to understand that the choice of an occupation represents the selection of the way in which he will make a major contribution toward the welfare of his social group and that each type of work that society needs to have performed is worthy and respectable. In addition, each individual must be led to recog-

[From D. E. Kitch and W. H. McCreary, "Improving Guidance Programs in Secondary Schools," *California State Department of Education Bulletin*, 19 (December 1950): 1-4. Reprinted by permission of the California State Department of Education.]

nize the opportunities for using leisure time to contribute toward the happiness and wholesome development of himself and his fellows.

3. *Helping the individual to set up realistic and worthy goals and to develop sound plans for working toward these goals.* Sound personal objectives are in keeping with the youth's own abilities, interests, and values. They should be realistic, in terms of his opportunities, and at the same time should challenge him to the fullest development of his individual capacities. They should represent his best contribution toward the welfare of the social group and be sufficiently flexible that they can be altered as changing conditions make alteration necessary.

4. *Helping the individual to acquire the ability to handle problems of human relationships.* Skill in working and playing with others under a variety of conditions is basic to happiness in the home, to satisfying participation in community life, and to success in obtaining, holding, and advancing in an occupation. The guidance program can be expected to make provision for assisting the individual to develop increasing competency in this area through aiding him to understand the motives that underlie the behavior of other persons, to understand and appreciate the ways in which other individuals differ from him and from each other, and to take advantage of the opportunities provided within the school and the community for securing experience in working and playing with other persons.

5. *Helping the individual to bridge the gaps between different schools and between the school and his post-school life.* This involves an organized plan for orienting new students to the program of the school when they enter it for the first time. It also involves procedures for assisting students who are transferring to other schools and for helping graduates to select and enter other educational programs and institutions which meet their needs. Assistance to students who need work while in school or as they leave is necessary and some method of keeping in touch with former students and of giving

them continuing help should be a part of the program.

II. *To Assist the School Staff in Securing, Interpreting, and Using Information Concerning the Characteristics, Needs, and Opportunities of Students*

The collection of useful information concerning individuals and groups of individuals requires the cooperation of the entire school staff. Members of the guidance staff need help in accumulating information helpful to them in understanding and working with individuals. Other staff members in turn can look to the guidance personnel for assistance in collecting and using certain types of data:

1. Materials useful in developing a curriculum that meets the needs of the young people being served
2. Information of assistance to teachers in adapting classroom procedures to the individual characteristics of their students. Data of this second type that are useful to the entire school staff include information concerning the following:
 - a. The readiness of individuals for various types of learning experiences
 - b. Achievement in various subjects
 - c. Special interests and abilities displayed by individuals
 - d. Individual health and personality problems that may result in special learning problems
 - e. Personal goals and objectives of students and their educational and occupational plans
 - f. The types of personal problems which are of importance to young people in the school
 - g. The problems faced by youth who leave school by graduation or drop-out and the ways in which they feel that the school might have served them more effectively

These and similar data from the records maintained by the members of the guidance staff should be made available to all teachers who need them either for committee work or for use in connection with their classes.

III. To Assist the School and Its Staff in Understanding and Working Closely with the Community They Serve

The continuous coordination of the school program with the life of the community is the responsibility of the entire school staff, not of the guidance personnel alone. However, members of the guidance staff, because of the nature of their duties, are in a position to make a major contribution in this respect. This function can be performed through such activities as the following:

1. Encouraging parent participation in helping students solve problems and develop plans
2. Visiting in the homes of students often enough to develop an understanding of how home environments condition the behavior of young people
3. Developing contacts with employers of young people and with representatives of community agencies and organizations interested in youth welfare
4. Making available to the staff helpful information that may be secured through

contacts with parents, employers, and other members of the community

5. Assuming leadership in helping parents and community leaders to a better understanding of adolescents and their problems and of the school's program for meeting these problems

6. Providing leadership in making periodic studies of various aspects of community life, such as the following:

- a. The socioeconomic, racial, and religious groups served by the school
- b. Community services for youth in such fields as recreation, health, inspirational and religious life, and welfare
- c. Employment opportunities for young people within the community
7. Working closely with other youth-serving agencies and organizations within the community through these ways:
- a. Becoming familiar with services provided for youth and developing procedures for referring individual young people for such services
- b. Cooperating with other community groups in the development of needed services for young people

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM

The primary purpose of an organizational plan is to insure the effective use of all available resources in the achievement of certain specific goals. A sound organizational plan for the administration of a guidance program has characteristics such as the following:

1. The goals to be achieved are clear to all concerned.
2. The plan is simple so that it can be clearly explained to the staff members

who are involved, to parents, and to students.

3. Assigned responsibilities are clearly stated so that each person is certain of what he is expected to do.
4. Individuals are assigned only responsibilities which they are prepared to undertake.
5. Facilities necessary for carrying on the duties assigned are provided.
6. The need for good working relation-

[From D. E. Kitch and W. H. McCreary, "Improving Guidance Programs in Secondary Schools," *California State Department of Education Bulletin*, 19 (December 1950): 5-12. Reprinted by permission of the California State Department of Education.]

ships among various individuals involved is recognized.

- 7. The plan provides for the long-term development of the program through periodic evaluation and strengthening.

SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES

The task of developing a sound guidance organization will be facilitated if certain basic principles are recognized by the entire staff.

1. Guidance services are as much a part of a well-developed educational program as is the teaching of any of the common subjects. To consider guidance as incidental to instruction is to lose sight of its essential nature.

2. A sound guidance program evolves from the cooperative planning and effort of an entire school staff. It will grow in relationship to the individual characteristics and needs of the school and its community. A program that is arbitrarily introduced into a school is handicapped from the start.

3. The school administrator plays a key role in the development of a guidance program and hence ought to be well enough informed in the field of guidance to give necessary leadership and support.

4. Direct responsibility for the operation of the program should be delegated to a qualified staff member who has adequate time to carry out the assignment. In some cases, particularly in a small school, the principal himself may assume this responsibility.

5. A well-developed guidance program provides needed services to all students, not just to those with serious or easily apparent problems.

6. Persons assigned to special guidance responsibilities such as counseling should be competent to do that kind of work—competent personally and competent professionally. If limitations in training and experience restrict the areas in which individuals can render a good quality of professional serv-

ice, these limitations need to be considered in the assignment of responsibilities.

7. Counselors and other guidance personnel with special qualifications should be assigned to duties that will make the most effective use of their abilities. Assignments which tend to impair their relationships with students or to use up their time with activities of a routine nature represent a waste of valuable skills and abilities.

8. The effectiveness of competent counselors can be materially increased through the provision of time, materials, and personnel necessary for the maintenance of adequate student records.

9. The guidance program of an individual school can be greatly strengthened if it can call on the community for psychological, psychiatric, health, recreational, placement, and other services not supplied by the school itself.

10. In-service training of the staff is essential as a constant means of improving the guidance services of the school.

A PATTERN OF ORGANIZATION

No single pattern of organization will work equally well in all school situations. Plans should suit the size and type of the school, the traditional organization of its total program, the personnel, and other particular conditions. Two basic plans for the organization of guidance programs within individual secondary schools that are widely used are described here.

One plan which has had growing acceptance in universities, colleges, and larger secondary schools places under one administrative head all student personnel services—those aspects of the school program which are outside of the areas of classroom instruction and the business administration of the school and its plant. School functions that have to do with student accounting and attendance, health, housing, the co-curricular program, guidance, and student welfare are grouped together. In a large school this plan has the advantage of pro-

moting a close working relationship among all of the services that supplement the instructional program and have to do with the welfare of individual students. The guidance services thus become an integral part of the school's program of student personnel services and should be able to function in close cooperation with other school agencies directly concerned with the problems of individuals. This plan, however, does not solve the important problem of developing a close coordination between the program of services for individuals and the activities carried on within the classroom.

A second plan of organization makes use of a separate administrative unit made up of those parts of the school program commonly designated as guidance services. Under this arrangement one person—a vice-principal or dean in charge of guidance, a director of guidance, or a head counselor—is given responsibility for the direction of the guidance program. The program usually includes the following services: (1) an orientation and information service, (2) an individual appraisal service, (3) a counseling service, (4) a placement service, and (5) a follow-up service. This type of organization carries with it certain important coordination problems. The guidance services for individuals must be coordinated with the school's curriculum program and with the other student personnel services, such as health services and attendance services, which are administered separately.

DUTIES OF GUIDANCE PERSONNEL

Whatever the overall plan of organization, the responsibilities assigned to various members of the school staff probably will be somewhat as described below.

The School Administrator. The chief functions of the school principal or head administrator should include these:

1. Providing active leadership and support for the guidance program
2. Selecting and assigning properly qualified guidance personnel

3. Organizing a school guidance committee and encouraging its development as an advisory and policy-recommending body
4. Promoting in-service education in guidance for all members of the school staff
5. Providing adequate facilities and materials
6. Encouraging the constant evaluation and improvement of the program

The Guidance Committee. This committee need not be large but it should be representative of the school staff and may include members of the student body and parents or other members of the community. Usually the director of guidance or head counselor acts as chairman. Among the committee's functions are the following:

1. To assist in the appraisal of the guidance program
2. To make recommendations to the administration concerning the further development of guidance services
3. To assist in keeping the faculty and the general public informed as to the guidance program and its problems and needs
4. To participate in the planning and conducting of special guidance projects such as surveys of students' problems, occupational surveys, and similar studies which need to be made from time to time
5. To assist in coordinating the guidance program and the school's curriculum development program

The Director of Guidance or Head Counselor. The director of guidance, under the general direction of the school administrator, is responsible for the organization and administration of the program. His specific responsibilities include:

1. Providing for the continual appraisal of the present program
2. Acting as the leader of the guidance staff in arriving at staff decisions on (a) procedures for carrying on the work of the guidance program, (b) the points at which the program needs to

be improved, (c) facilities and materials needed, and (d) the types of in-service professional growth activities that should be carried on.

3. Arranging for and assigning facilities to the guidance staff
4. Making recommendations to the administrator in regard to personnel
5. Arranging for and conducting in-service training in the area of guidance
6. Representing the school's guidance program in working with parent and other community groups
7. Coordinating the guidance services of the school with youth services provided by other community agencies and organizations

In addition to the duties that the guidance director must perform as the administrative head of the program, he is usually expected to carry a part of the individual counseling load. He may have regularly assigned counselees or may counsel those referred to him by other counselors.

The guidance director should be an experienced counselor with adequate professional training and experience. He needs a broad understanding of educational goals and processes, a pleasing personality, an enthusiasm for the job, and leadership ability. In a large measure, his success will depend upon how well he is able to enlist the continued support of the administrator and the faculty members. In view of the key responsibilities of the person in charge of the guidance program, the school administrator should make every effort to secure the best available person for the job. The advantage of having professionally trained leaders cannot be overemphasized.

The Counselor. The counselor occupies a key position in the guidance program and must be prepared to carry out a number of responsibilities.

Contributing Agencies. Workers in the fields of health, public welfare, recreation, psychology, child welfare and attendance, and placement have much to contribute to the school guidance program. Some of these persons can provide help with individual

case work, others with in-service training activities. Whether such personnel are regular members of the school staff, are employed by city or county school departments, or are connected with community agencies or organizations, their services should be made available to students to the maximum extent possible. Optimum use of resources of this type will do much to supplement and extend the guidance services of the counseling staff itself. The value of such special personnel has become apparent to such an extent that some secondary schools not served by city and county staffs are adding school psychologists and social workers to their own counseling staffs.

The Teacher. The importance of the role of the teacher in the guidance program of the school cannot be overstressed. The teacher has daily contact with the student and is therefore in a better position to observe him closely and continuously than any other person on the staff. He has an opportunity to study the student's behavior as it varies from day to day in different situations. The extent to which the teacher takes advantage of this opportunity to become acquainted with individual students, to learn their problems, and to see that they have help when they need it depends upon the degree to which he is interested in other persons and the opportunity he has had to develop a background of knowledge concerning the mechanics of human behavior. Teachers who are interested in individuals should be encouraged to participate in the organized guidance program of the school to an extent justified by their ability to provide useful help to students. All teachers should have an opportunity through in-service training to build up their skills in understanding and working with youth on an individual basis.

All teachers have opportunities to participate in the school's guidance program in the following ways:

1. By studying the individual characteristics of their students and adapting their classroom procedures to those differences in so far as possible

2. By learning to recognize which students have special problems so that they may help them when that is possible and may refer them to counselors for further help
3. By becoming familiar with the problems which are common to large groups of students and by providing opportunity for the discussion of these problems in appropriate situations in connection with their classes
4. By becoming familiar with the occupational and educational opportunities related to the subjects they teach and by offering students information of this type that will be helpful to them in working out their own plans
5. By making sure that classes are organized and conducted with regard for the basic principles of good mental hygiene

Some teachers may be asked to undertake special responsibilities in connection with the school's program of group guidance activities. These responsibilities may include the conducting of home room or advisory groups, participation in core programs, or the conducting of special units or courses which form a part of the group guidance program. Other teachers may be asked to serve as advisers for classes or to act as sponsors for various clubs or activities. If the potential guidance values involved in such situations are to be made available to students, teachers given such assignments should be properly selected and should be helped to plan the activities involved to make them of real value. Giving a period the administrative label "home room" or "advisory period" and assigning a teacher to the proper room does not, of itself, insure that anything will happen to aid youngsters in solving problems.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

Physical Facilities for the Guidance Program. A poorly housed guidance program cannot be expected to function efficiently. In planning new school buildings or in re-

modeling old ones attention should be given to providing adequate space and physical facilities for the guidance services. A private, attractively furnished office, with files and telephone, for each counselor is a decided asset. A comfortable waiting room for students, and ample and conveniently located quarters for the cumulative records, the testing services, the placement service, and the occupational information materials are other desirable facilities. Counselors can work more efficiently when their offices are convenient to the record files and to the offices of administrators, school nurses, attendance supervisors, and other staff members with whom they have frequent contacts.

Counselor Load. How many students should be assigned to a staff member for individual counseling? In arriving at an answer to this question a number of factors, which vary from school to school, must be considered. Has the guidance program been organized in such a way as to make the most economical use of staff time? Are group activities used to advantage? Are counselors required to spend a disproportionate amount of their time on clerical work? Are the cumulative records adequate and easily accessible? Are referral resources available so that counselors may secure assistance with more difficult problems?

Questions such as these point up the fact that any numerical ratio which might be suggested ought to be interpreted in terms of the experience of the local school. A standard that has been suggested as a desirable minimum by a guidance subcommittee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is that of one full-time counselor or the equivalent for each four hundred to five hundred students.

Methods of Assigning Students to Counselors. Students may be assigned to counselors in a number of ways: on the basis of class, major course, sex, in groups alphabetically chosen, or by a combination of these methods. A recommended practice which appears to be growing in favor is that of dividing an incoming class into coun-

seling groups of equal size and assigning them to counselors regardless of sex or major course. Each counselor moves along with his counselees as they progress in school and when they are graduated he is assigned another first-year group and the process is repeated. This method assures a desirable continuity in the relationship between counselor and counselee. In case a personality conflict develops between the counselor and one of his students, the student can readily be shifted to another counselor.

Organization of Counseling Staff. A recent study of 1,289 counselors in California sec-

ondary schools revealed that 85 percent were part-time counselors who also had teaching responsibilities. Experience indicates that effective guidance programs may be organized with either full-time or part-time counselors or with a combination of the two.

The type of organization which should be developed in a school will depend upon such factors as the number of trained staff members available, the different skills possessed by these individuals, and the judgment of the administrator and the other members of the faculty as to the type of organization which might work best in the school.

3. GUIDANCE IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The general functions and organizational patterns traced in the previous selections by Kitch and McCreary have applications to all educational levels. However, a greater development of guidance services is currently found in secondary schools and colleges than in elementary schools. Nonetheless, guidance programs are currently found in some elementary schools, and in the following article, Morris Krugman presents a rationale for their development.

WHY GUIDANCE IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL?

Take account of individual differences.

Meet children's emotional needs.

Provide for the whole child.

Give children love and security.
Respect children as persons.

The growth and development of children are the major aims of education.

[From Morris Krugman, "Why Guidance in the Elementary School?" *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 32 (1954): 270-273. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

Early prevention of maladjustment is more important than later efforts at adjustment.

These and hundreds of other mental hygiene maxims roll glibly from our tongues. At countless university extension courses, at teacher institutes, summer sessions, educational conferences, PTA meetings, forums, workshops, panels, discussion groups, and lectures, "needs of children" are repeated. "We hold these truths to be self-evident," and develop new techniques to make them more evident. Films, slides, tape recordings, sociodramas, dramatic plays, group dynamics and 6-6 discussions are but a few of these techniques.

Where does all this get us in terms of what happens to children? Are teachers being made to feel less adequate to deal with children in the classroom? Are parents being made anxious about their children, and is their potentiality for action therefore paralyzed by what seem to them impossible strictures? Some maintain that this is happening. But need it happen? Is it not possible to translate the knowledge and experience gained from the research and clinical work of psychiatry, psychology, medicine, and social work into reasonable practices leading to desirable outcomes? Certainly there is need for an energetic approach, based on the best available knowledge about human behavior, to retard the rapidly accelerating trend toward serious maladjustment. While we spend our energies on debates of theories, mental hospitals and psychiatric clinics are becoming more crowded, juvenile delinquency is on the increase, and personal and social maladjustment becomes more common and more palpable.

There are no miracles in this field; there are no panaceas; nor are there any sure-fire specific remedies. There are, however, some convincing leads as to directions to travel. Guidance workers must extract from these leads ideas for expanding the relatively limited guidance goals of the past

and bringing them up to date for present conditions.

In many respects the guidance movement has made tremendous strides and has exerted great influence on the educational process over the past 40 years. In other instances, however, the guidance field has not kept pace with developments and needs. As happens so often in all professions, accepted practice has become routinized and stylized, and change is resisted by many practitioners. Two areas in which change is overdue in the guidance field are: (1) continued emphasis on guidance in the secondary school or higher, to the neglect of the population below secondary school level, and (2) continued emphasis on the mechanics of the guidance process, like the presentation of occupational information, psychological testing, record keeping, and guidance toward schools and jobs, almost to the exclusion of attention to child growth and development, personal and social adjustment, and other dynamic factors of adjustment. Guidance of adolescents in secondary schools is, of course, very important; if anything, there is too little of it. But to begin guidance at age 14, as though life began then, is contrary to all we know about personality formation. In the same way, occupational information, psychological testing, and vocational guidance are also very important, and more rather than less of these are needed. But to guide for vocations without taking into account the vast amount of evidence from industry about the vocational maladjustment of competent workers because of personal, emotional and social factors, is to guide blindly.

GUIDANCE FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

This discussion will be limited to one of the areas mentioned above as requiring the attention of guidance workers—the need for provision of guidance services to young children. It is a commonplace that the prevention of maladjustment and the in-

culation of habits of adjustment at an early age yield greater dividends than later efforts to undo the results of poor adjustment. Everybody admits this; but, like the weather, no one, or very few, do anything about it. When those in authority in educational circles are approached about the need for guidance services in the elementary schools, the response usually is "What for? These young children aren't ready for jobs or college"; or "We have special classes for the mentally retarded; isn't that enough?" Occasionally the response is, "We need more child guidance services for the extreme deviates, but can't afford it just now." And sometimes we hear, "In the elementary schools, every teacher is a counselor, so why have guidance specialists?"

These statements, heard often, are the logical outcomes of a philosophy of guidance fostered by guidance workers over the past 40 years. It is a type of guidance that can be labeled "catastrophic." It aims to provide assistance in emergencies—when a course or school has to be selected; when a job has to be obtained; when failure has occurred; when school is being dropped; when delinquency has been engaged in, or truancy, or inappropriate behavior, or when some other grave crisis occurs. It is at these times that guidance workers are expected to plunge in suddenly, and rapidly arrive at decisions that will solve the problem or clear up the undesirable situation. In more advanced guidance programs, the counselor will assist the client in arriving at solutions. This in spite of long experience that tells us that it is much too late to do a great deal after failure, or truancy, or school leaving, or delinquency has occurred.

How much more logical is it to approach the process of education from the very beginning as a planned means of personality development. With such an outlook, guidance becomes an adjunct of education, a positive force, rather than the negative one that appears only in emergencies. Guidance then becomes a means of child development rather than a tool for handling crises. De-

velopmental guidance is concerned with child personality development in all its phases, without, however, taking over the functions of the educator. It is concerned with the child's learning process, and leaves the teaching to the teacher. It is involved in the child's physical, social, emotional, and moral development, but the guidance worker does not take over the functions of the physician, social worker, psychiatrist, or clergyman. The modern guidance worker in the elementary school must have considerable orientation in all of these specialties, but must be a great deal besides. He must supply the integrating force, be less absorbed with the specialties listed than the specialists, and more concerned with the manner in which these specialties affect the growth and development of each child.

THE TEACHER NEEDS HELP

Cannot the classroom teacher be this catalytic agent? Definitely, but she cannot do the job without assistance. Unless her teaching incorporates the best in mental hygiene and child development, she will not be as effective as she should be in her teaching, but her major concern is with instruction, whether her methods are traditional, progressive, or in-between. She has a group for whom she is responsible the entire school day. She has neither the time, the training, the resources, nor the experience to do what the modern guidance worker can do for individual children. In elementary schools which have the services of a modern trained guidance worker, or teacher-counselor, almost every teacher in the school functions better in the guidance of her children than in schools where no such services are available. But she needs the assistance and advice of that guidance worker.

The guidance worker or teacher-counselor serves as much as teacher-trainer and consultant as he does as guidance worker. To begin with, he functions as a conveyor of the guidance and mental hygiene point of

view. He may do this through conferences, or consultation, or demonstration, or work with individual children. Doesn't the principal do this? Certainly. But the principal, unless he has charge of a very small school, has more than enough to do in his administrative and leadership responsibilities. The principal is always the head of the school, but he can no more do the guidance work of his school than he can do all the teaching. For an effective guidance program, the principal must stand solidly behind it, or it cannot function. The principal sets the tone of the school, and the guidance worker who does not have the full support of the principal had better not attempt to work in that school.

How about the school psychologist, or social worker, if there is one? They are specialists in mental hygiene, but their specialized functions make it necessary to devote most of their time to those functions. In many small school systems the practice of engaging guidance-trained psychologists to serve both as guidance workers and school psychologists has been noted in recent years. Probably this practice will spread; and more and more do we see psychologists obtaining training in guidance, and guidance workers taking intensive training in psychology. Perhaps the future guidance worker in elementary schools will be a fusion of the two professions. In ideal situations, particularly in large school systems, the clinical professions, that is, psychiatry, psychology, social work, and medicine, are as necessary to complement the work of the guidance

worker as the latter is to complement that of the classroom teacher. In a one-room school house, one teacher can be teacher, principal, janitor, and guidance worker for children of all ages and grades. In a time of specialization, mass education, and rapid social changes, however, the teacher can do the guidance of her children up to a point; the trained guidance worker must be available for direction, consultation, and more intensive guidance work; and the child guidance or mental hygiene clinic, or their equivalent, is essential when even more specialized and intensive services are required. In a well-rounded guidance program these three facets of guidance function jointly for a single objective: the best adjustment of each child. They do not compete with each other.

A sound guidance program in the whole school system will eventuate when the program begins at the kindergarten and extends through the elementary school, junior high school, and high school years, with a dynamic program well integrated in the curriculum, based upon creative materials placed in the hands of talented teachers, who profit from the supervision of real leaders in education and in guidance. Before this happens, however, those of us who have grown accustomed to ways of working over many years need to appraise these ways, to retain the valid and to substitute some new approaches for those that have served a useful purpose in the past, but which require modification because the world has not stood still the past 40 years.

• III •

Guidance Personnel

4. THE TEACHER

5. THE SCHOOL COUNSELOR

6. THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST

7. THE SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKER

THIS chapter explores the key to successful guidance programs—namely, the personnel who operate them. Effective guidance services are carried out cooperatively by many different people. In this chapter consideration will be given to the activities of various members of the school staff who contribute to these services—the teacher, the school counselor, the school psychologist, and the school social worker. Implicit in the organization of this chapter is the concept of the team approach in guidance. It is becoming increasingly recognized that no one institution or service organization can efficiently meet the needs of youth and society. There are still additional guidance personnel, who will not be considered in this chapter. Others contributing to the guidance program would include the school administrator, the school nurse, the school psychometrist, the child welfare and attendance worker, and, of course, the parents of the students.

4. THE TEACHER

The idea of the teacher and guidance worker acting in close cooperation and harmony has received fairly wide acceptance, further attesting to the fact that guidance and psychological services for youth cannot be the function and prerogative of only one group of professional workers. Every teacher will encounter students with whom she is not equipped to deal competently—not because the teacher is less capable than the guidance worker, but simply because her background of training and experience has emphasized development of instructional areas. Each day that passes gives testimony to the fact that teachers need, and indeed demand, assistance with students in their classroom.

The development of such a team approach is currently one of the most important trends in guidance services. The guidance role of the teacher on this team is of primary importance. This role was briefly considered in Section 2 in the last chapter. However, the specific activities of the teacher deserve a more complete discussion.

In the following article, H. B. McDaniel suggests means by which the teacher and guidance workers can coordinate their activities to meet the needs of the students with whom they are both working. Guidance is a facilitative service existing to assist the teacher and the institution in the attainment of their goals—the optimal development of the potentialities of students. It requires acceptance, understanding, and the willingness of the teacher and counselor to work together.

OPERATION GUIDANCE AND THE TEACHER: HOW THE TEACHER CAN ASSIST THE COUNSELOR

Rivertown High School's fifty staff members and 1,200 students meet daily in the rambling but well articulated school plant which suggests by its structure a recognition of individual differences. Work, play and reflection are all represented. There are ad-

ministrative offices, health clinic, science laboratory, library, theatre, homemaking center, shops, playgrounds and gymnasium, business office and cafeteria. Throughout all there is human warmth.

The high school is a part of the city

[From H. B. McDaniel, "Operation Guidance and the Teacher: How the Teacher Can Assist the Counselor," *School Executive*, 69 (1949): 53-54. Reprinted by permission of the author.]

school system. It is administered by a principal, two assistant principals and a director of guidance. The principal serves as a general leader and director of curriculum. One assistant principal has the major responsibility for enforcing legal and regulatory functions. The other gives leadership to school and community social functions.

The director of guidance heads a series of services which facilitate individualization in the total program. In addition, he serves as a skilled consultant on the diagnosis and treatment of individual problems and carries on continuous research and follow-up studies. Counseling is provided by four half-time counselors, each of whom serves a group of students at each grade level.

The high school makes use of the school guidance clinic and local medical and welfare agencies for dealing with the problems that go beyond the time and competence of the school staff.

What is the relationship of the teacher to this program? How does it serve the teacher? How does the teacher serve the program?

The principal of Rivertown thinks such questions suggest a chasm which does not exist. He said, "We think of our guidance services as parts of the educative program. They have resulted from our faculty's efforts to understand and make adaptations to the needs of children and young people in this community. Our teachers feel that they cannot really plan a program for an individual or a group until they know a great deal about the 'learner.'

"We found that we wanted to know more about an individual than we could learn from our ordinary classroom procedures. We wanted to be able to identify our potential leaders early in their brief stay with us. We wanted to know which ones had special abilities in art, music, science, verbal expression, social leadership and mechanical skills.

"As we got into it, every teacher became as interested in discovering the outstanding performers in his field as our football coach

was in finding a freshman halfback. At our second month's faculty meeting each year, we have a session conducted by our Talent Search Committee. This keeps every teacher alert to the exciting task of discovery. These youngsters are written up by a student in our *Profiles of Talent* column in the school paper during the year.

"The teacher's role is essentially that of being a good teacher—for the particular group and insofar as possible for each member of the group. This means that the teacher organizes learning experiences first in terms of the abilities and needs of the group, then within that framework adapts instructional content, method, and personal relationship to the optimum learning potential of each youngster. Our guidance services help the teacher to know these group and individual needs. They also provide resources for obtaining diagnostic data and treatment suggestions for individuals who have special problems. The teachers feel that the counselors help them to be better teachers."

The director of guidance added further specifics to these operational relationships of the teacher and the guidance services. "We depend a great deal on the teachers in making our guidance services reach all the students. While we do carry on some individual diagnostic and therapeutic work in our clinic, which is quite specialized and time-consuming, much of our counselors' efforts are devoted to helping the child be understood and served well by every curricular and extracurricular activity.

"The principal has spoken of the teacher's role in organizing effective learning experiences. Perhaps I can further clarify the teacher's role by referring to the major elements of our program.

"The first is the growth of each student: our individual inventory. This is not a matter of recording dates, grades, and test scores. It is an attempt to maintain a record which will give us real insight into the growth and development of each child. The teacher both contributes to and draws from this inven-

tory. Three types of items supplied by teachers are recorded: the mark indicating achievement in subject matter; the 'talent' report, a record of any outstanding performance, or an observation on potential abilities. These data are reported in the form of anecdotes sent in on a special form.

"The third is the 'student with problems' report. This may be a note or anecdote describing a bit of behavior that appears to be significant, a verbal report, or a direct referral of the student. As such data accumulate over the years we have a child in school, we begin to get a picture of the 'whole' child. The good teacher draws constantly on this case history for clues in organizing effective learning experiences.

"Another objective of our guidance services is to keep youth informed of opportunities and alternatives to supply the data needed for personal planning. We embody much of this in our curricular program in the form of units in the social studies, library activities, assemblies and field-trips. Each teacher has a part in this program. It is her task to relate the subject taught to educational and vocational planning. At Rivertown we give special time in every classroom to informed discussion of this topic. The counselors also make use of our vocational and pre-vocational teachers as occupational

information consultants on an individual interview basis.

"The teacher also has a part and a definite responsibility in the counseling program. His is the primary responsibility for working with students who have problems related to learning in the particular course. This may involve much individual contact. The teacher is also the primary referral agency in making use of our special diagnostic and therapeutic services. The student whose difficulties do not respond to classroom treatment is referred, with information, to the counselor.

"Teachers also render invaluable aid through participating in case conferences wherein the insights and skills of all workers on a particular case are pooled. Conferences, interviews, home visits, testing, case studies and other counselor activities frequently result in clues to adaptations and suggestions for classroom activities which can be carried out and evaluated by the teacher.

"It seems to me that these things we are trying to achieve are team objectives. As counselors, we would be futile in trying to improve individual adjustments if we did not have the active help of all teachers."

Rivertown High School takes seriously the idea that a public school must serve the educational needs of all youth of the community.



5. THE SCHOOL COUNSELOR

The next article deals with the functions and activities of the school counselor. An analysis of the activities suggested here by D. E. Kitch and W. H. McCreary further demonstrates the concept of the team approach as being basic to guidance services.

The activities suggested in the article are quite general in nature, and it

would be worthwhile for the reader to attempt to determine their implications in terms of specific activities. Such consideration might include the following: What are some of the interpersonal relationships that exist between the teacher and the counselor? What factors operate to the detriment of guidance services, generally, and the team approach, specifically, in a given situation? How does a counselor enlist the aid of other individuals and agencies than those found in the school? How can parents be made a part of the team? How can the police department, business and industry, and others be included?

Careful consideration of these questions with a serious attempt to resolve them will help ensure a higher level of guidance service. Subsequent chapters in this book will also concern themselves with these questions.

THE SCHOOL COUNSELOR: HIS WORK AND TRAINING

GENERAL FUNCTIONS OF THE SCHOOL COUNSELOR

The chief responsibility of the school counselor is to assist individuals in solving their various personal adjustment problems. His basic professional preparation is in the field of education but he will have acquired, through college and university courses, supervised field training, and other types of experience, certain techniques of professions closely related to education such as clinical psychology and social work. The counselor is interested only secondarily in the managerial and administrative problems of the school. In carrying out his responsibilities, he will be called upon to perform certain basic functions.

COUNSELING INDIVIDUALS

The special contribution of the counselor to the program of the public school is that of working intensively with individuals. The counselor represents the school's attempt to

supplement and round out its typically group approach with an organized plan whereby each pupil can be given capable help in solving his personal adjustment problems. His primary concern is with the individual's adjustment in the school situation. His special task is to study individuals and to work with them in such a manner that they will mature wholesomely and derive the maximum benefit from their school experience. The counselor works toward these ends through various procedures.

1. *Helping individuals to understand their own personal assets, liabilities, and opportunities.* The counselor's training and experience equip him to provide special skilled assistance to individuals in gaining an understanding of the particular abilities that are their strengths and of the weaknesses that are their handicaps. He is prepared to provide assistance in studying the opportunities that are available as a means of growth in many important areas. These may include opportunities for improving study skills, for

[From D. E. Kitch and W. H. McCreary, "The School Counselor: His Work and Training," *California State Department of Education Bulletin*, 20 (July 1951): 6-10. Reprinted by permission of the California State Department of Education.]

forming friendships and social contacts, for participating in group activities, for the exploration of possible interests, for needed education and training, for securing part-time or full-time employment, or for other experiences that will contribute toward the personal development of the individuals served.

2. Aiding individuals to develop worthwhile personal objectives and to make and carry out plans for their achievement. The development of a mature personality involves the identification and acceptance of the roles which the individual finds most satisfying. He learns to think of himself as a certain sort of person in the home, the school, and the community. As he gradually develops this concept of the kind of person he is and wants to be, his own personal objectives begin to emerge. The nature of these objectives and the plans which he develops for achieving them have much to do with the value which he derives from his school experience. The trained counselor is able to assist individuals in this process of (1) understanding themselves, (2) identifying the roles which they feel will be satisfying to them and beneficial to society, (3) developing personal objectives, and (4) making plans for working effectively toward these goals.

3. Helping individuals to work out solutions for their personal, social, educational, and vocational problems. The experienced counselor will be called upon to work with persons who come to him of their own accord for assistance with a variety of problems. The specific nature of these will vary with the maturity level of the individual concerned and with the nature of the circumstance which makes him aware of his need for help. The counselor will also be called upon to accept referrals from teachers and other staff members who find that their contacts with individuals involve problems with which they need assistance either be-

cause of lack of time for individual work or because they feel that the problem concerned is beyond their ability.

ASSISTING TEACHERS

The counselor himself may spend a part of the school day in conducting classes. In many cases at least a part of his teaching load may include the handling of group guidance activities. For this reason the counselor is likely to have a special interest in techniques that are effective in stimulating informal group discussion of personal adjustment problems. Because of his experience with such techniques, his training in the study of individuals, and his experience in personal counseling, the counselor is in a position to render certain types of assistance to teachers.

1. Helping teachers to secure information about individuals which will be of assistance in planning and conducting class work. Skilled teachers make use of data concerning the interests, learning abilities, and other characteristics of groups in planning class activities. The counselor can be of much help in assembling and interpreting such data.

2. Assisting teachers in the use of tests and appraisal techniques. Many teachers feel the need of assistance in the use of various types of standardized tests and informal techniques for securing information concerning individuals in their classes. The special training of the counselor enables him to provide valuable assistance as a consultant for teachers who desire such help.

3. Assisting teachers who are responsible for group guidance activities in planning and conducting such activities. Many schools provide units within the curriculum which are designed to meet special developmental needs of groups of children or youth.

Trained and experienced counselors should be able to provide assistance in the planning and conducting of the learning activities involved in these units.

4. *Assisting teachers to secure and interpret guidance materials suitable for use in various class situations.* Good teachers strengthen the motivation of their classroom work by developing learning activities based upon the personal, educational, and vocational problems of individuals. Counselors can render valuable assistance by aiding in the identification and use of helpful pamphlets, books, and other instructional materials.

5. *Working with teachers in the solution of problems involving individual pupils.* The teacher who feels the need of help in understanding the behavior of a pupil and in developing classroom procedures for improving his adjustment is entitled to assistance from a counselor. Through conferences with the teacher or through case study conferences involving other staff members, the counselors should be able to assist the teacher in arriving at a better understanding of the particular situation involved and of possible ways of working more successfully with that particular individual. This type of assistance should result in a steady growth in the ability of staff members to understand and work successfully with the individuals in their classes.

CONTRIBUTING TOWARD THE GENERAL PROGRAM OF THE SCHOOL

The counselor, because of his interests, training, and experience, may be expected to contribute toward the development of the general program of the school in certain specific ways.

1. *Providing leadership in the planning*

and conducting of certain activities. In making his contribution toward the development of the school's general program, the counselor may be expected to take a special interest in activities such as the following: (1) orientation programs for new students; (2) the school's program for obtaining and using information about students; (3) providing students with information about educational and occupational opportunities; and (4) follow-up studies, community studies, and other research activities in the area of guidance.

2. *Participating actively in the school's curriculum development program.* The counselor is in a position to help evaluate the effectiveness with which the school's curriculum meets the needs of its students through his many close contacts with individuals. He therefore has a special interest in furthering the curriculum development program of the school and should be able to identify areas in which new learning experiences are needed and to recognize existing courses and units which seem to be inadequate.

3. *Bringing to the attention of the school staff effective mental hygiene techniques and procedures.* Because the counselor's training will include the study of the principles of mental hygiene, he should be able to assist in evaluating the administrative and instructional procedures of the school from the point of view of good mental health practices.

4. *Participating in and contributing to the school's in-service training program in guidance.* The counselor recognizes that all members of the school staff have important parts to play in the school's guidance program. He will be especially interested in assisting with the planning and development of in-service training activities which will constantly add to the abilities of staff members in contributing toward the improvement of the school's guidance services.

ASSISTING THE SCHOOL IN WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE COMMUNITY

The counselor can be expected to understand the need for close cooperation between the school staff and the community in the development of a school program which will meet the needs of the community's children, youth, and adults. He can be expected to contribute toward the growth of a close working relationship in ways such as the following.

1. Acting as a liaison agent between the school and the community in making available to students and teachers all community services and resources. The school counselor is especially interested in becoming familiar with services provided by community organizations and agencies which may be of special value to his counselees. In making these services available to individuals whom he serves, the counselor develops contacts with many business and professional people. Through such contacts, he becomes aware of opportunities for making use of community resources of various types in connection with the school's curriculum program. Such information should be passed along to other staff members.

2. Consulting with parents concerning the problems of individual children and youth.

The counselor is interested in enlisting the cooperation of parents in solving the adjustment problems of their children. He confers with parents at the school and makes occasional visits to homes. These contacts with parents will provide him with an opportunity to find out how parents feel about the school and its program, to explain to parents the problems faced by the school, and to promote a closer working relationship between the parents and the school.

3. Interpreting the school's program, particularly the guidance program, to community groups and individual citizens. In his contacts with organizations and agencies which provide services for children and youth, the counselor should have many opportunities to interpret the school's program and its problems to individuals and groups. The reactions secured should prove helpful to the school staff in evaluating the relationship between the school and the community.

PERFORMING NECESSARY ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES

Since the major responsibility of the counselor is to counsel individuals, his administrative duties should be held to a minimum. When administrative and managerial tasks are assigned to counselors, these duties should be compatible with the counseling process and should not jeopardize the counseling service.

6. THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST

An important member of the guidance team is the school psychologist. His functions and activities are generally outlined in the following article by Eli Bower.

THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST

Teachers are being helped by school psychologists to appraise children's readiness for learning and to adapt instruction to their needs and abilities. Such specialists are relatively new on school staffs. At first they worked primarily as intelligence testers. But their field of endeavor has rapidly expanded to include a variety of jobs that can be done to greatest advantage by individuals who understand psychological principles and know how to apply them so that each child may be provided with the kinds of educational opportunity from which he may profit.

. . . The great diversity of school districts, of size of school enrollments, and of school resources requires that school psychologists be prepared to do a variety of jobs and to utilize a variety of methods. Certain school districts maintain child guidance clinics within which the school psychologist may carry on his work; others have few or no special facilities. However, the duties of school psychologists are in many ways similar, for the very nature of their work makes it necessary for most of them to perform to some degree the duties enumerated in the list that follows. The school psychologist

Informs school personnel and parents regarding the special services he is prepared to render

Accepts for study individuals referred to him by school personnel

Studies the problems and potentialities of individuals referred to him, formulates procedures to be followed in the cases of individuals studied, and provides or helps to secure the treatment needed

Confers with school personnel who are working with an individual studied regarding the results of the study, interprets his findings, recommends the treatment needed to correct the indi-

vidual's difficulty, and suggests ways in which all can cooperate in giving the treatment

Keeps informed regarding the various services available in the community that can be used in helping individuals to solve their problems and is prepared to secure the particular services for the individual who needs them

Helps school personnel to understand the problems and needs that children commonly have at different age levels

Helps school personnel to understand the causes underlying various kinds of behavior and methods of helping each child to develop desirable behavioral patterns

Helps members of the community to understand the causes underlying various kinds of behavior and to understand the intellectual needs of children, youth, and adults

Promotes and engages in the research that is needed to help each child and youth to work successfully at a rate and at a level commensurate with his potentialities

Although the duties listed cover a wide range, are varied in nature, and require special skills, school psychologists must in many instances also perform other duties, some of which are less immediately related to their special professional training. For example, they may supervise general testing programs, supervise teachers of classes for mentally retarded pupils, do educational and vocational counseling, assist in the formulation of certain administration policies, develop and operate mental health institutes, work with parents of mentally retarded children and children with serious behavior problems, and help to develop curriculums for special training classes.

7. THE SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKER

The last member—and newest, at least under this title—of the guidance team to be considered in this chapter is the school social worker who acts as a liaison between the school and the family, and between the school and the community agency.

For many years, schools have had such personnel as the attendance officer, child welfare worker, or visiting teacher, who have performed some of the tasks now being assigned to the school social worker. Present practice is to attempt to obtain individuals trained primarily in social work and place them in the school setting.

The relative recency of the school social worker on the educational scene is exemplified by the scarcity of articles in the guidance literature dealing with this position. David Bilovsky contributes an original article and discusses the child protective function of the school social worker. He maintains that many of the protective services should be offered in the homes and schools rather than by authoritative agencies. Such a thesis demands that more schools employ trained social workers—guidance workers trained to serve the student in both his school and home environment.

SCHOOL SOCIAL SERVICE AS A PROTECTIVE FUNCTION

Measures designed to protect children from abuse and cruelty have long been sanctioned by the community. However, these provisions reside, in the main, within the confines of authoritative agencies. The earliest emphasis of these agencies when confronted with an abused or neglected child was to remove the child and prosecute the parents. We have learned, from various disciplines and from empirical evidence, that the infant's (and later the child's) relationship to his parents is of prime importance.

This knowledge of the importance of the affectional needs in child care has led to a shift of the emphasis from removing the dependent child from his home to one where community agencies offer services to children in their own homes. These services are designed to prevent the separation of children from their families. The provisions for the protection of dependent children are still within the province of authoritative agencies (such as police, probation, and juvenile court). These agencies recognize

[From David Bilovsky (unpublished manuscript, 1957). Reprinted by permission of the author.]

that they cannot undertake long continuous casework with families. Courts are limited in the amount of non-court work in which they can engage. It shall be the purpose of this paper to attempt a proposal that the school social service worker (school districts encumber them with a variety of titles: Visiting Teacher, School Social Worker, Child Welfare Worker, etc.) should have as one, and perhaps most important, of his delineated functions that of providing protective services to children and their families. In an article prepared for the Bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America (May, 1946) Henrietta L. Gordon lists four distinct characteristics of protective services:

First, service must be initiated by the agency; since the application of the referral is a complaint of neglect or abuse, the individual who needs the help is not asking for it.

Second, the individual to whom help is being offered is not free to decide that he does not want the services of the agency.

Third, the agency cannot withdraw the service only because the parent has refused or is unable to take help.

Fourth, should the parent or guardian be unable to improve the condition while the agency sees it as one that endangers the children, the agency must bring the matter to the attention of the court with recommendations for proper care.

The entry of schools into the field of social services is not an innovation. Nor, is its development as is often charged, a measure of educational diffusion. Reports at the Conference of Social Work held in Atlantic City in 1919 indicated that the relationship between social work and education was "already established." It was stated at that time that schools must enter into the field of social services as part of the process of carrying out an educational program.

The 1954 Yearbook of the American Association of Social Workers states that the aim of any social service offered in a school should be to supplement the work of the teacher. The goal of a school social service program, in helping a child with his personal adjustment problems, should be to make the educational program more effective. However it does not seem as if "more effective teaching" is the only justification for schools' becoming an agency of social services.

We have, perhaps, reached that point in our educational history where the school comes in contact with nearly every child of nearly every parent. This quantitative approach to educational offerings is perhaps a natural outgrowth of our democratic, frontier traditions. But we now find that the qualitative aspects of the educational program are of equal concern. It is the attempt to reconcile the quantitative aspects of education with the qualitative that makes the educator feel an urgent need for specialized school services. "Mass education" must depend upon an individual approach to the "non-adaptation of constitution to conditions," and, in a purposeful manner, the non-adaptive must be helped to change or exist with his constitution or conditions. This concept of social service is in direct opposition to the "social Darwinism" which is so often expressed in our schools. In Herbert Spencer's cosmos, adjustment was not teleological but "natural" or evolutionary. Spencer might have been writing about a maladjusted student in school when he wrote, "the whole effort of nature is to get rid of such, to clear the world of them and make room for better." In applying Spencer's interpretation of the cosmos to the world of the school, one can see no inconsistency in Spencer's not only rejecting "social services" but also in rejecting state supported education. Any interference by the state would upset the biological applecart and not allow for the natural selection made explicit in the "survival of the fittest."

These Darwinian catchwords suggest that

biology offers the best determiner of the winner of competitive situations. It is but an application of this thought to say that only the educationally fit (which is determined "naturally") can succeed in school. Without special services, individualized instruction, or school social services, our schools become selective agencies. The "inferior" are eliminated and only the "fit" survive the academic hierarchy.

School social service finds it difficult to accept these concepts of Spencer which assume a continuity in the natural and social processes. Instead, the hero of school social services is more inclined to be one such as Lester F. Ward who maintained that the only way man could claim to be superior to the animals was that man had replaced biology or genetic determinism with purposive or "telic" progress, or what Ward called "the improvement of society by cold calculation." The school social worker is not dependent upon natural selection and "survival of the fittest." The Darwinian concepts fail to give a "raison d'être" for any social welfare or social reform movements.¹

And so it is that school social service is envisioned as "protective service" which attempts to stop the selective process of elimination. This process of elimination, far from being determined biologically, seems to depend upon, in large part, the quality of the parental care which a child receives in his earliest years. This does not mean that school social service is concerned solely with the quality of parental care. Problems of attendance, delinquency, impulsive school behavior, health, psychological needs, agency relations, etc. are also functionally related to social services in a school. But, it is the role of the school social service as a protective agency which helps make it definitive and justifiable.

The Social Work Yearbook (1954) defines protective services as those services

¹ The reader should obtain Richard Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Beacon Press Inc., 1955) for a more complete development of these concepts.

for a child "which are initiated by a person other than the parent . . . as complaints against parental behavior or neglect." Neglect is a serious personal problem. John Bowlby in his monograph *Maternal Care and Mental Health* reviews much of the evidence on the effects of parental deprivation. The evidence of the gross relationship between maternal deprivation and its adverse effects on personality growth is fairly conclusive. As Bowlby points out, a knowledge of this relationship constitutes a challenge to action.

School social service in its role as a protective agency is well constituted to accept this challenge. Protective services should be designed to help parents assume their responsibilities toward their children. The sanctity of the home, which is part of the American tradition, gives every parent the right and duty to care for his children and to protect them from abuse and neglect. However, some parents are either unable or unwilling to assume this role. In an extension of the *parens patriae* concept, the needs of the state as well as the needs of the child obligate the state to assume a protective role. But, fundamental to any protective service is the concept of authority. An agency must be able to intervene. Its intervention is not at the request of the parents. Nor is its termination governed by parental anxieties. Traditionally, the community delegates authority to state agencies. The need now seems to exist for this authority to be delegated to a non-court agency.

A perplexing professional problem thus arises. Protective services have been avoided by social agencies because these services require two, seemingly irreconcilable, functions. A social worker through his skills of acceptance and knowledge of his client's motivations, behavior, etc. permits the client to gain an understanding of his dynamics and thus the client is empowered to effectuate a change. The aid imposed by the social worker is either non-existent or, at the most, minimal.

Through these skills the agency attempts

to mobilize the parents to assume their responsibilities toward their children. Because of this, social work agencies have resisted the protective function, it being felt that operating within a coercive framework was limiting. On the other hand, existing protective agencies (police, probation, court, etc.) feel that they can function only after the violation of a statute.

The schools seem to be ideally situated for operating within the framework of authority as a non-court, state agency and, at the same time, utilizing their skills to improve the

"survival" possibility of the individual by supplying the conditions for maximum self-growth.

Society's concept of the school's function allows the school to play an accepting, supporting, non-judgmental role with the parents. At the same time, the schools have assumed a quasi-legal status which permits the necessary authority for the operation of protective services. It seems as if the community has assigned the role of protective services to the schools. The schools can not abdicate from this responsibility.

• IV •

Guidance and the Curriculum



8. GUIDANCE AND THE CURRICULUM

THE interrelatedness and differentiation of instruction and guidance has been discussed in the introduction to Part One. The respective roles of the teacher and counselor have been discussed in Section 4. It has been suggested that the teacher and the counselor work as a team, each contributing his unique training, experience, and competencies to the advantage of the student. This same rationale holds for guidance and curriculum specialists. In the mind of the child the dichotomy between guidance and instruction does not exist.



8. GUIDANCE AND THE CURRICULUM

Curriculum and guidance should operate as an integrated function, or, as expressed by Janet Kelley in the following article, "Why Not? Teamwork in Guidance and Curriculum." Professor Kelley suggests various areas in which the functions of guidance and curriculum overlap and she goes on to give examples of successful teamwork operations of guidance and curriculum specialists in these functional areas.

WHY NOT? TEAMWORK IN GUIDANCE AND CURRICULUM

Basically, guidance personnel, curriculum specialists, and teachers have the same goals and purposes. The all-round development of the individual has been a central objective with all of them. In no phase of education has so much time been spent or so much information been gathered for the sole objective of understanding the individual child. Guidance people, particularly, have had extensive knowledge of the backgrounds of pupils—their interests, abilities, previous school and life experiences, health, general home and cultural background, and many other aspects of pupils' lives.

Another central objective on the part of these educators has been their interest in behavioral changes in youth. All recognize learning as a matter of acquiring changes in behavior patterns through experience rather than acquisition of knowledge primarily through memory. All have broadened concepts of the purpose of education and of the nature of learning. All are interested in helping the child to become increasingly more effective in solving his problems, and in developing in him continual growth in ability for self-direction.

Those doing guidance work, curriculum specialists, and teachers have been trying to establish programs and experiences aimed at meeting the needs of young people. Guidance programs have been based upon such needs. Curriculum specialists have come to recognize the experiences of youth as their core materials. They have defined the curriculum as "all the experiences which the child has irrespective of their character or when or where they take place" and again, as "those experiences which develop the individual, social, and vocational competencies

necessary for effective living in society." It is evident that the curriculum is not thought of today solely in terms of subjects to be studied but rather as total experiences which help youth to solve their problems, to achieve competencies, and to live effectively in their culture.

In brief, guidance, curriculum, learning, and, in general, education are all moving at the present time in the same line of thought.

What then are the factors in the lack of cooperative teamwork?

The study of the whole child has been a central objective but what of the role of the *whole situation*, the *whole staff*, and the *whole educational program*? The latter has too often been forgotten, with the result that the achievement of common goals has taken place in an isolated and separated manner.

Curriculum is defined as all the experiences which the pupil has, but too often these experiences have been limited to the classroom. Curriculum people in some cases have gone ahead on their own steam and with their own personnel. They have left out many times the guidance-trained people in their school. Curriculum specialists and teachers have used guidance concepts and techniques but sometimes unsuccessfully because of their lack of training in that field.

Three important aspects of guidance and personnel work have long been emphasized in the literature—namely, the guidance point of view, guidance services, and the administrative aspects of the program. Because organized guidance services and systematic aids have been particularly stressed, a professionalized guidance program has come into existence with an elaborate organiza-

[From Janet A. Kelley, "Why Not? Teamwork in Guidance and Curriculum," *Occupations*, 30 (March 1952): 400-405. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

tional structure and many specially trained personnel.

Within this organizational structure, various guidance emphases have taken place. In some places time has been spent on mal-adjusted children. In other places the guidance work has been interpreted as *counseling* alone; in others, it has been regarded solely as vocational guidance; in still others the pendulum has swung so far away from vocational guidance that it is entirely left out.

It would seem that not enough effort has been made to make guidance a complete program designed to promote the total life adjustments of pupils and of all school people. Very often in the administrative aspects of guidance services, integration and coordination within the guidance services and within the total school program have not been successfully accomplished. Again, in relation to the *whole school situation*, the *whole staff*, and the *whole school program*, the functioning process has been inadequate.

As a result of this lack of functioning together in the total program, a duality between curriculum and guidance has occurred. This has had a long heritage beginning with such dualisms as curricular vs. extracurricular, academic vs. vocational, and mental vs. social. Within the guidance field itself, dualities, such as individual vs. group, clinical vs. normal, remedial vs. preventive, counseling vs. tests, vocational vs. social have appeared. Guidance people have failed to work effectively with teachers, and vice versa. What is the teacher's point of view in relation to her work? What is the guidance point of view? Too little mutual exploration has gone on in these important questions. There has been in the guidance field a great deal of "aiding," "prescribing for," "directing," "analyzing for," but not enough of "working with." *Verbally*, guidance people are saying that their program must be an integral part of the total educational endeavor. *Verbally*, curriculum people are saying that the content of curriculum is the *total* educative experiences of the child.

NEEDED: COOPERATIVE WORKING TOGETHER

It is evident that real *cooperative working together* must take place. Where does it start? It would seem that the school administrator is the key person to have the vision for and to plan professional relationships on a working basis between teachers and guidance people, including specialists. Also he must provide the flexibility for this endeavor to take place—a flexible attitude, flexible time, and a flexible school structure. Teachers meeting some 150 children and youth 40 minutes a day cannot serve as guidance persons to them. Counselors responsible for 1,000 or even 200–500 pupils are able to meet with each pupil for only brief intervals during a year and have no time for work with teachers. For major guidance functions to take place in a school, and particularly, within the framework of the curriculum, larger blocks of time must be available for teachers and guidance personnel to work with pupils and with each other. Leadership for this cooperative endeavor must be drawn from both fields. Representatives from each should act as a team with common goals. In teamwork, each assists, helps, guards, strengthens, cooperates with another and all share in the planning, performing, and winning the activity.

In what ways can guidance and curriculum people work together?

BASIC EXPERIENCE

First of all, there is a basic experience in every school program where this cooperative endeavor can begin. At the very beginning of the school year, instead of the usual registration process in which a guidance or program committee prepares schedules of study and hands them out to pupils, there are other more fruitful approaches. A registration process can take place in which teachers, teacher-counselors, and all people on a guidance staff have an opportunity at least for

several weeks to meet with pupils and parents. During this time they can explore mutually the interests, problems, goals, and needs of pupils and then help them to choose those courses which most meet their needs and problems.

In this kind of exploration together, teachers and guidance people can come to understand the values, the levels of aspiration, and the needs of their pupils. They may learn in a realistic way that pupil values reflect those of the parents and of the community in which they live. They gain insight, too, about parental culture with its expectancies for children—the level of aspiration parents have for their children, and the values and beliefs they hold due to their position in the social class structure of the community. All these understandings add meaningful information for planning experiences with them.

In this cooperative process guidance people, especially, can take the initiative to administer all the tests which might be needed to determine the capabilities of children. Previous records can be reviewed more meaningfully than in the past. The experience of the teacher in this process is not that of merely *consulting* a folder; with the aid of guidance personnel on the spot, the teachers can examine more meaningfully for themselves and for their pupils the data contained in the folder. As a result of the careful examination of and consultation over test data and all other information which has been gathered, guidance people and teachers can make more realistic interpretations to parents and to an interested community. Teaching personnel can see more clearly the need for tests and records and their important role in contributing to them.

Also, guidance people can learn more about the nature, content, and purposes of the different courses, and how their work can supplement that of the teachers. They can discover how a pattern of courses can be planned more in harmony with students' needs. They can explore with more under-

standing the attitudes of pupils and parents for the purpose of helping them to define appropriate goals. Individual and group interviews are surely a part of this exploration and can take place particularly with the new student population and with the more advanced students who are changing their goals.

This exploratory process has real educational value for parents and for the pupils. Parents may discover that each of their children is different from the other. They learn a great deal about the capabilities and potentialities of their children with the result that their ambitions for them become more realistic. Pupils begin to consider goals for themselves, and the educative experiences which are necessary for the achievement of their goals. They learn to understand their teachers, parents, and guidance people in a more mature manner. From the above type of communication, different kinds of learning occur. Guidance and curriculum personnel become teams of people working together for common understandings. In-service education takes place not on a verbal level but on a "working and learning together" process.

TO THE CLASSROOM

Secondly, after this initial exploratory experience, cooperative endeavor among guidance people, teachers, parents, and pupils *transfers to the classroom*. The pupils are now starting courses which have more meaning for them. Teachers may discover at this stage that a change of instruction is necessary as a result of careful study of guidance materials. Now that the concept of curriculum revolves about the needs, drives, and activities of children, they perceive how personal, social, and vocational guidance enters the classroom. The sharing and proper use of records that they have experienced breaks down the barriers of "halo" and "secrecy" which may have existed formerly in the school about records. A realization

that the guidance program is one that is based on the *optimum growth of all people* in the school replaces the feelings of "secrecy," "mystery," or "superiority," which may formerly have been engendered. Therefore, through the initial working together experience, teachers look more to the role of guidance personnel as *resource people* who can help them in many ways. When the basis of instruction is shifted from the subject-matter orientation to student needs, they realize there is more pressing need for guidance services. Through the information they possess on vocations and occupations, guidance personnel can help the teachers in perceiving further the vocational and occupational significance of their courses or units of learning. They can point out what occupational information is necessary for each of the various age-levels of children.

They can share guidance materials by the establishment of traveling libraries which might be in charge of student leaders, such as a library student staff or student council committees. They can demonstrate how these libraries can be used effectively in all classes, but particularly in orientation classes, in study halls, and homerooms. They can show that portable guidance materials can be fed to rooms and places where *pupils are* instead of remaining in a stationary place.

Also teachers and guidance people may see the need to build cooperatively the work-study program into the course work. Such programs are becoming necessary in order to develop greater social and personal effectiveness on the part of the pupils who are working or will work in the community in which the school is located. The guidance people may be the best qualified school personnel in community resources, in places to visit, because they have usually had some working relationship with the community. Through their role of working with the community, guidance people can interest community organizations, such as Kiwanis, Rotary, business and professional clubs, and industries in the developmental needs of

young people for camp experiences, work experiences, scholarships, and for other types of helpful services.

Through their initial community contacts, and in cooperation with teachers, parents, and *community* committees, the whole area of vocational guidance can assume more meaningful and more realistic approaches. Certainly the pupils' educative experiences should include an adequate knowledge of the community, of the effect of population changes, of the local labor market, and of changing occupational patterns. The school staff should consider the individual community as the base for information and should use community committees in the joint project of furnishing advice to the student in regard to an occupation. It is important that the parents, the teachers, and guidance personnel, particularly the placement office personnel, all be included in this cooperative venture. New developments, resources, and information may emerge from this venture which would point the way for curriculum design and guidance practices. Educative functions, administrative functions, and cooperative functions will exist in this process of working together. At times they may be assumed by curriculum people, at other times by guidance people, but most often by both personnel as a team.

Supplemental and supportive aids to the instructional program and teacher-parent-pupil growth can continue through further cooperative development on the part of guidance people, such as child-study seminars, home and school visits, case conferences on children's problems with interpretations by specialists, such as the psychologist, psychiatrist, social worker, remedial teachers, and others of specialized training. The more highly specialized guidance services can be positively related to the activities of the teacher. In these supplemental programs, the chief function of guidance leadership is to help teachers in solving their own problems in the guidance of children rather than to relieve teachers of these problems.

IN COURSES

Thirdly, cooperative endeavor can take place between teachers and guidance people in the selection of and in the actual teaching of courses in the curriculum. A definition of the problems and purposes within the different courses to meet the needs of students can be a real contribution of the guidance staff. With the vast amount of counseling that has been done by guidance people, they have insights into the personal, social, civic, cultural, and other types of problems of youth which make them especially trained people in the selection of curriculum. They can be valuable members of curriculum committees and in many areas they can be valuable *teachers*. If curriculum is made up of the *total experiences* of pupils, much of the content of the extracurricular, home-room, and guidance programs becomes vital curriculum content. When problems are spelled out with parents and pupils, core units and orientation courses can be built on the pupils' immediate personal-social problems, such as personal conduct, boy-girl relationships, selection of mate, and health problems. Also such personal-development problems as conflicts in values, the clash between older and younger generations in moral and social standards will be a real content of curriculum. School-community and wider state and national problems, as social-civic responsibilities, occupational choices, group cooperation, military service, are also vital curricular content.

Whether this instructional content is in special curricula, as social studies, health education, language arts, or in core units, guidance people at times have a major contribution to make in the teaching of this content. However, teachers should also have experience in instruction in these areas in order to realize the role that guidance content can play in instruction, and so that together they may work on more meaningful social, as well as other, adjustments of pupils. Together they may also work on pupils'

problems and in helping pupils in self-direction toward solving them. Guidance people also may realize more fully how effective learning can take place in these areas. Teachers may perceive how the curriculum is a channel for guidance and can become a guidance-centered curriculum. They may see that a basic role of teaching is *developmental guidance* of individuals and groups. A curriculum will be further guidance-conditioned if guidance people and teachers continue to explore together the needs and problems of children, the nature of learning, and the demands that society imposes upon the maturing child. The separation of guidance from learning activities is not likely to take place in this kind of exploration. Too, the teacher's treatment of students will become as much identified with the development of personalities as with the knowledge they possess.

EXTRACURRICULAR PROGRAM

Fourthly, cooperative teamwork of teachers, guidance staff, parents, and pupils in forming a curriculum based on all the educative experiences of youth should also be centered on what is still in many schools the extracurricular program. The life as pupils live it in their peer groups, on the playground, in the gymnasium, at social affairs, in the halls, clubs, cafeteria, auditorium, student councils forms a very great part of their educative experiences. The staff must become social scientists and develop social insight and skills in studying these important aspects of the pupils' living experiences. They are the *natural school situations* which pupils themselves have organized to meet their needs, to solve their problems, to retain their interests, and to aid them in living in a democratic society. Originally, according to one authority, they were bootlegged through the back door of the school by the pupils themselves as an important part of their everyday life which they refused to leave outside, and the school administration found it easier to supervise the program than to

suppress it. However, there was no change in the usual formal curricular activities to take care of these needs. Classroom and extracurricular activities were regarded as separate, and there were efforts even to distinguish the latter from the total educative process. Cooperative teamwork is needed on the part of all staff members to see these activities as real educative experiences. The child as a citizen, adolescent or child, and learner all in one must be a reality.

Therefore, guidance people and the total staff must spend time with the extracurricular activities to find out the real problems, interests, and concerns of youth. In so doing they may see more clearly that perhaps they should be co-curricular activities and a part of the curriculum. They must understand the expectancies of youth, study appropriate developmental tasks, and decide if present education is relevant to their needs. They must spend as much time in conferences with group student leaders, and in group counseling as they have in individual interviews. The particular stress of our times, the complexity of our culture, the changed conditions of the home, the rise in divorce figures, the rapid tempo of living, the lack of moral values, the emphasis on problems of mental hygiene, the strain of war and military preparation for war—all cause problems to youth and make necessary still wider and wider concepts of guidance and of the curriculum. All people involved in any program or in any function of an educational institution must give help to youth, not just in the classroom and in guidance offices, but throughout all of the school experiences to help young people solve their problems.

PROCESS OF WORKING TOGETHER

Fifthly, in this cooperative teamwork between guidance staff, teachers, pupils, and

parents, a great deal of attention must be given to the *process* of working together, of understanding each one's motivations, values, and beliefs, and of trying to work slowly and experimentally with all people toward the achievement of goals. Guidance workers should realize that they must build anew, around the classroom teachers. They must work harder for good pupil-teacher relationships for they are the heart of a good guidance program. Curriculum people must realize that the guidance staff can help them through their special background of experience and of understanding. Also, they must realize that guidance people can make their curriculum materials more meaningful to them and that they can also aid in teaching. Lines of communication must always be open.

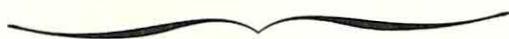
Basic to this cooperative approach is the fact that there should be no "vs.'s," as guidance vs. curriculum, but only shadings of one into the other and then the need for considering all in educational planning. Materials, services, and techniques of study and of working together which have formerly been used need not necessarily be abolished but can be re-evaluated and used in a more meaningful way. Basic also to this cooperative approach is a willingness to learn new ways of working together, to study interpersonal reactions, and to develop understanding in human relationships. All personnel must recognize that changes in curriculum and in guidance practices can take place only as there are *changes in people*.

Only as guidance and curriculum people work together as a *team* with all their strengths can integration of guidance and curriculum take place. Cooperative teamwork will surely mark one great step forward in studying the *whole child* in the *whole situation* with the *whole staff* and in a *whole educational program*.

Why not try it?

PART TWO

Techniques and Principles of Individual Appraisal



V. TESTING TECHNIQUES

VI. NONTESTING APPRAISAL TECHNIQUES

VII. SYNTHESIS OF INDIVIDUAL APPRAISAL DATA

THE counselor must see through Johnny before he can see Johnny through," or "Johnny must see through himself before he can see himself through."

Either statement expresses the importance of the appraisal of the individual as one segment of the guidance program. The collection and application of data to a problem precede the resolution of that problem. From this evolve various alternatives upon which to base decisions. The appraisal service provides these objective data. The successful implementation of other guidance services—namely, counseling, educational and vocational guidance, placement, and referral—depends to a great extent upon the appraisal of the individual's aptitudes, achievements, interests, adjustments, and other factors.

An important goal of guidance is to have each student understood—by himself and by others. Appraisal is a vital factor in this understanding, for the student cannot be understood unless he is known. Appraisal contributes to this knowledge by providing systematic and objective information about students.

Beyond this, if we are to reach the guidance goal of self-guidance, the student must know himself. Appraisal of self contributes to knowing of self. In order to assure this self-knowledge, the appraisal process should involve the student, both in the selection of appraisal instruments and in the interpretation of the results.

The superior teacher also studies her pupils. She relates good teaching and effective learning to individual appraisal. Individual appraisal facilitates education in terms of the individual's needs.

Studying appraisal techniques requires much effort and time in the preparation of counselors and other guidance personnel. Guidance literature devotes much space to this topic and this book gives it rather extensive coverage.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIVIDUAL APPRAISAL

Certain principles govern the appraisal service and aid in collecting data for counseling. Rothney and Roens¹ list five criteria for collecting data:

1. Any datum about an individual which assists in the understanding of his behavior must be given due consideration.
2. Any datum about an individual that is to be used in his guidance must be appraised accurately, fully, and economically.
3. The culture in which the individual is reared must be thoroughly examined.
4. Longitudinal data must be used in the study of the individual.

¹J. W. M. Rothney and B. Roens, *Counseling the Individual Student* (New York: Henry Holt, 1949), pp. 49-64.

5. Conceptualization must be continuous as each separately evaluated datum is added in the study of the individual.

Too often the counselor, teacher, and the student overlook significant data and make judgments on insufficient or inaccurate evidence. And, much too often, once the data have been collected they are stored away in cumulative records and not used in helping to solve students' adjustment problems. By keeping and using appraisal data about its students, the school can help to discover and resolve many problems before they become serious.

The collection of data is the first step. But unless interpretation through counseling follows, the time, money, and effort expended in their collection will be of little worth. Appraisal techniques themselves have many weaknesses, but the most serious weakness is that of improper or inadequate interpretation. For this reason, in Chapter VII on the case study and Parts Three and Four of this book many pages are devoted to this topic.

If the counselor, teacher, or counselee have sufficient data—data which cover adequately the mental, physical, social, and emotional adjustments of the individual; which give attention to his past accomplishments in and out of school; which include other environmental pressures, mainly his home; and which consider his plans for the future—and if with training we interpret these data realistically, then the individual will profit most from the appraisal service.

Psychometrists have developed hundreds of appraisal techniques and thousands of appraisal instruments. Since this book can consider only a few of these techniques, it attempts to treat those that are the most commonly used.

One approach to the categorization of appraisal methods is to consider them as "testing" or "nontesting" techniques. "Testing" refers specifically to psychological tests that have been standardized on the basis of samples from a normative population. Since these standardized tests are one of the most often used appraisal techniques, they will be considered in Chapter V.

"Nontesting" techniques are many and varied. Chapter VI discusses them as a group and considers specifically the techniques of observation, autobiographies, and sociometrics. Cumulative records—the depository for appraisal data—are also covered in this chapter.

In Chapter VII, the results of "testing" and "nontesting" techniques are synthesized in the "case study," two of which are presented.

• V •

Testing Techniques

9. TESTING PROGRAMS

10. ASSESSMENT OF APTITUDES

11. ASSESSMENT OF ACHIEVEMENT

12. ASSESSMENT OF INTERESTS

13. ASSESSMENT OF PERSONALITY OR ADJUSTMENT

IN 1905, Alfred Binet in France developed an instrument for measuring the dimension of intelligence or scholastic aptitude. Since that time, thousands other psychological tests have been published. The average student in the United States takes three psychological tests a year and even as an adult he continues to face psychological tests in the armed services and in business and industry. Psychological testing is a vital tool in the guidance assessment program.

A standardized psychological test makes possible a systematic comparison of the behavior of two or more persons. Certain systematic procedures "standardize" the construction, the administration, the scoring, and the interpretation of these tests. As a result, more accurate comparisons among individuals can be obtained.

Despite the careful systematization of the testing procedure, tests still have many weaknesses and limitations. Included in these testing limitations are

(1) the inadequacy of sampling from the universe of items, from the student's knowledge, interest, potentiality, or personality, and from the student population in making up the norm group; (2) cultural bias; (3) reading proficiency bias; (4) psychological set of the testee; (5) inaccurate administration or scoring; and (6) inadequate interpretation of the results of testing. Any user of these tests needs to be aware of these limitations. The following readings will point out many of these weaknesses. As yet, however, counselors have nothing that is more practical than tests in terms of time, cost, and energy to appraise many of the psychological traits of individual counselees. Tests yield data that are more accurate than can be obtained by guessing and most other appraisal techniques.

Tests are employed by the following groups in various ways:

(1) Schools. Tests are used in screening for entrance and in placement of students into curricula, grade, and classes. Tests aid schools in identifying the exceptional student, in discovering talent, and in surveying class or school achievement.

(2) Counselors. Tests are used in diagnosing individual problems, in predicting individual future successes, and in opening counseling relationships.

(3) Teachers. Tests are used in diagnosing educational difficulties, in grouping students within the classroom, in discovering group interests, attitudes, and problems, and as a grade or mark referent point.

(4) Students. Tests are used to determine students' interpersonal strengths and weaknesses by comparing their psychological organization to others'. Tests can also provide insight into intrapersonal strengths and weaknesses by analysis of specific attitudes and reactions.

TYPES OF TESTS

Tests are categorized or typed in many ways. Some of the more common categorizations, frequently referred to in the following readings, are listed below.

(1) *Group or individual.* Group tests can be administered to one or more individuals by the examiner. Individual tests can be given only to one individual at a time.

(2) *Power or speed.* A power test assesses the level of performance rather than speed of response. Sufficient time is usually given for the student to answer all the items that he is capable of answering. Speed tests appraise how fast and accurately a student can answer test items. The student usually does not finish all the items he is capable of answering in a speed test.

(3) *Structured or unstructured.* A structured test has a standard stimulus and a standard—that is, a directed or “one right”—response. Most pencil-and-paper tests are of this type. They have the advantage of ease of administering, scoring, and interpreting. The unstructured test has an unlimited variety of responses elicited by ambiguous and equivocal stimuli. Projective tests are of this type. Difficult to administer, to score, and to interpret, they have the advantage of higher validity for certain dimensions of measurement,

such as personality or adjustment, since the student is not limited or directed in his response.

(4) *Performance or pencil-and-paper.* A performance test requires a motor or manual response and usually involves the manipulation of concrete equipment or materials. The Finger Dexterity Test, for example, assesses the ability to pick up small brads and place them in holes. Pencil-and-paper tests require just that—the test booklet printed on paper and a pencil to mark the responses.

(5) *Survey or diagnostic.* A survey test measures general achievement in a given subject or area. It is usually used to measure group status. A diagnostic test yields measures of the components or subparts of some larger body of information or skill. It is used to diagnose the student's specific areas of weakness and strength.

(6) *Achievement, aptitude, interest, or personality and adjustment.* Achievement tests assess the student's proficiency, his accomplishments, and his achievements. Aptitude tests measure the capacity or potential for future achievement. They are used primarily for predicting future achievement. Interest inventories appraise behavior tendencies based on personal likes or dislikes. Personality or adjustment tests assess one or more of the nonintellective aspects of an individual's psychological structure. Included in this category are the personality or adjustment inventories, situation tests, opinion or attitude inventories, and projective tests.

The following sections present readings in each of the four categories listed above in (6). Testing programs in general are considered first in Section 9. Aptitude tests are presented in Section 10. Section 11 presents tests of achievement. Assessment of interests is included in Section 12. And Section 13 surveys tests of personality and adjustment.

9. TESTING PROGRAMS

What constitutes an effective testing program? A. E. Traxler, director of the Educational Records Bureau and experienced in establishing testing programs, has written extensively on this topic. In the following reading, he presents fifteen criteria for the evaluation of an effective testing program. These criteria may be used as a check list to evaluate a school's on-going or proposed testing program.

FIFTEEN CRITERIA OF A TESTING PROGRAM

The criteria of a testing program are dependent in part upon the nature of the school and the grade level of the pupils involved. Certain general criteria, however, are applicable to nearly all kinds of schools and practically all grade levels. These criteria may be phrased in the form of questions.

1. Is the testing program comprehensive?

Does it include different kinds of tests? It is difficult to interpret a test score in one area, for example, reading comprehension, unless it can be compared with scores in other areas. The level of a pupil's score in a given subject is not as important as the pattern or profile of his scores indicating his strengths and weaknesses.

2. Does the testing program include all pupils in the school? If the tests are placed on a voluntary basis, or if they are given only to the pupils who are having difficulty, or if they are administered only to selected groups, or if a large number of pupils are designated as special pupils and are excluded from the class distributions, erroneous conclusions may be drawn concerning the ability and achievement in the school as a whole. What is more important, if some pupils are excluded from the testing, their educational guidance may be impaired by the fact that their records are incomplete. Following each testing program there is a need for a careful check-up and testing of absentees, even though this procedure will inevitably involve a large amount of extra work for the person in charge of the testing program.

3. Are the tests given at regular intervals?

Are there regular fall and spring testing programs in the school, or are the tests given in a haphazard manner whenever it

suits the convenience of the staff member in charge of testing? If the tests are administered at regular intervals, it is possible to study the growth of the pupils from year to year or from the beginning of the school term to the end. But if they are given irregularly, growth studies are likely to be difficult to make and of little value.

4. Are the tests well timed? Is the time of administering the different types of tests carefully planned so that the results will be of maximum usefulness? For instance, are tests of reading ability and arithmetic skills given fairly early in the fall so that there will be time to plan and carry out corrective work for pupils found to be retarded in certain skills? Are tests in one-year subjects, such as plane geometry and biology, given toward the end of the year so that the results can readily be reported to the teachers who have the pupils in class, and yet far enough from the end of the term to enable the teachers to make practical use of the results?

5. Are the tests in the school's testing program comparable? Are the various tests in a particular fall or spring testing program constructed along similar lines and standardized on similar populations so that it is possible to make comparisons among the results on the different tests? Is an attempt made to keep the tests from year to year comparable through the use of different forms of the same battery?

It has been observed that occasionally a school will deliberately vary its testing program from one year to the next in an effort to get as many different kinds of measures on its pupils as possible. While a certain amount of experimentation, particularly with new and promising tests, is necessary, fre-

[From Arthur E. Traxler, "Fifteen Criteria of a Testing Program," *The Clearing House*, 25 (September 1950): 3-7. Reprinted by permission of *The Clearing House*.]

quent changes in the tests used are ordinarily undesirable. Such frequent changes are likely to give the test results for the school as a whole a confused picture which even tests specialists find it difficult to interpret.

6. Do the tests used agree with the objectives and the curriculum of the school?

In planning a testing program, it is advisable for a school, first of all, to state its objectives, not merely in general terms but specifically and in detail, and then to try to choose tests that are in line with the objectives and the course of study that has been formulated to carry out these objectives. For instance, if a school has an integrated program in the social studies, it will likely find that a general achievement test in social studies is better suited to its program and needs than separate tests in American history, world history, and other specific subjects. No set of standardized tests will fit the objectives and program of an individual school exactly, but there should be a reasonable amount of agreement if the results are to be meaningful.

7. Are the specific tests carefully chosen?

Does a competent group of persons go over the tests themselves with care and study the available statistical data concerning them? Many different tests are available for various fields, and there is often a great deal of difference in the value of these tests. The work of studying and choosing among specific tests is so time-consuming and has so many technical ramifications that oftentimes it is preferable to have this work done by a committee appointed to represent a group of schools with similar objectives and programs.

8. Are the tests carefully administered to each group? No matter how reliable and valid the tests are, the results may be rendered almost worthless by indifference and careless administration. The question of whether the tests should be administered in large, specially scheduled groups or in the regular classes is one that can be decided only on the basis of local conditions. If the

physical equipment of the school is suitable, probably more nearly standard conditions can be achieved through the use of a small number of large groups. But a more natural and less tense atmosphere may attend the administration of the tests in the regular classes.

If the tests are given in the regular classes with all or nearly all the teachers participating, it is important to precede the testing program with a special period of instruction and training of the teachers in test administration. It is highly desirable to make sure that the teachers understand the purpose and value of the tests and that their attitude toward the testing situation is favorable, for an indifferent attitude on the part of a teacher may be reflected in indifference in his pupils. Even with these precautions, it may be necessary to leave some teachers out of the test-giving process, for some excellent teachers seem constitutionally unable to administer tests according to a definite and rigid time schedule.

9. Are the tests scored accurately? Test scoring is a difficult and wearisome clerical task. It calls for careful attention to detail, not only in the original scoring but also in the rescoreing and checking, and it requires vigilant supervision if large errors in the scores of individual pupils are to be avoided. As a rule, a clerical staff, specially chosen and trained for this task, can score objective tests more rapidly and accurately than the most intelligent group of teachers a school can assemble. It is doubtful whether a school can ever feel confident of the accuracy of the test scores on its records unless it either specially plans and carries through a thoroughly supervised local scoring program or makes use of the services of an outside scoring agency.

10. Are the test results interpreted in terms of appropriate norms? National norms based on a meticulous statistical sampling of public schools throughout the country are likely to be very useful for an average public school, but these norms may be almost use-

less for a public school in a remote rural area of the South or Midwest, a school in an underprivileged area of a large city, or a college-preparatory group in a suburban public school or an independent school. The test scores of an individual pupil or a class group should be compared with norms appropriate to the background, training, and educational and vocational goals of that individual or group.

11. *Are the test results quickly reported to teachers and counselors in understandable terms?* If the test results are to be of maximum value to the school they must be placed in the hands of the person in a position to use them while the interest in the tests is still strong and while there is still time in the school year to act upon the needs indicated by the results. The scores should reach the teachers and counselors in not more than a few weeks at the most. The test data should be organized in the form of class distributions and alphabetical lists so that the results for both groups and individuals can be quickly and easily apprehended.

The results should be expressed in terms that the individuals who are to use them can understand. For most classroom teachers and many counselors, percentile ranks are the best medium of expression of the results. Where there is a high degree of sophistication concerning tests, the results may be expressed in units whose statistical properties are superior to percentiles, such as standard scores or scaled scores.

12. *Are the test results recorded on individual cumulative record forms?* The results of each testing program have an immediate usefulness, but they also have a long-term value, and this value is enhanced as data are accumulated from year to year. The point cannot be overemphasized that while it is important to know the level of ability and achievement of a pupil at a given time, it is much more important to know how he is growing in the different areas measured by the tests. Growth can be noted and appraised

only when the test results are systematically recorded on individual forms. The cumulative record should include not only test data but many other kinds of information about the individual.

13. *Is a definite attempt made to relate the test scores to other kinds of information?* Even the most enthusiastic proponent of testing must concede that test results cannot stand alone. They can never give a complete picture of a pupil. There are areas such as effectiveness of oral expression, ability to bring ideas together and synthesize thinking in written expression, various personal factors, and other qualities that are not covered by existing tests. Moreover, even in the skills and understandings that can be measured well by the better objective tests, it is often true that test results can be adequately interpreted only if there is information on some of the less tangible areas which the tests do not cover. For instance, the development of a situation leading to the personal and social maladjustment of an individual may explain what would otherwise be a puzzling and alarming decline in achievement test scores. Up-to-date cumulative records are invaluable in the study of these interrelationships, although even the best cumulative record must oftentimes be supplemented by the collection of current information and case-study procedures for specific individuals.

14. *In addition to the regular testing program, is there provision for special testing as needed?* The all-school testing program should be supplemented by a variety of tests to meet special needs. Several specific needs may be cited by way of illustration. Usually the testing of intelligence or scholastic aptitude in the regular all-school testing program is based on group tests of mental ability, most of which depend rather heavily upon ability to read. Where a reading handicap is suspected, it may be necessary to give a pupil an individual Stanford-Binet Scale to obtain an accurate measure of his intellectual capacity. A pupil who is having diffi-

culty with the usual academic subjects may be given tests of mechanical and clerical aptitude in order to identify aptitudes that have a positive significance for educational and vocational guidance.

Guidance of both an educational and a vocational nature may be enhanced by measures of interests, such as the Kuder Preference Record or the Strong Vocational Interest Bank. In the adjustment counseling of a pupil with whom good rapport has been established, occasional use of inventories of personal qualities, such as the Bell Adjustment Inventory or the California Test of Personality, may be helpful, provided the counselor has sufficient training and experience to interpret and use the results.

15. *Does the school have an in-service program for educating teachers in the use of test results?* This is without doubt the most important criterion of all. Even a somewhat inadequate testing program from the standpoint of number and kind of tests used may be very helpful to a school if the teachers are prepared to make full use of

the test results. But the most thorough and elaborate testing program ever devised will fall flat and be largely a waste of time if the results are placed in the hands of persons untrained in and indifferent to their use. Very few teachers can ever expect to be experts in testing, but every school should have on its staff one person who makes it his special job thoroughly to understand the testing field, and this person should assume responsibility for training the rest of the faculty. All teachers, even those least mathematically inclined, can learn enough about test scores, class medians, and percentile ranks to interpret and use intelligently the results of the tests in their own subject fields. Understanding of test results can be increased through group discussion, lectures based on lantern slides, nontechnical staff clinics, and case studies.

The use of test results is an all-faculty function. When it is accepted as such, pupils and teachers alike can benefit greatly from a comprehensive, regular, systematic testing program.



10. ASSESSMENT OF APTITUDES

Aptitude tests (or ability tests) have been defined as instruments which attempt to assess the capacity or potential of the individual to acquire or to achieve. Included in this type are the tests of *intelligence* (scholastic aptitude), the tests of other *specific aptitudes* (such as music, art, clerical, or mechanical each normed on a different population), and the *aptitude batteries* (normed on a single population and containing instruments for assessing more than one aptitude).

The following selection of readings presents different aspects of aptitude measurement. Anne Anastasi, who has written extensively in the field of testing, begins the discussion with a historical development of aptitude test-

ing and continues with some of the current problems. The assessment of intelligence or scholastic aptitude, a vital measurement in our schools, is discussed by Allison Davis and Robert Hess who give special emphasis to attempts at controlling the cultural bias of test items—a problem that has plagued testers.

THE MEASUREMENT OF ABILITIES

Historically, the first major efforts in the field of psychological testing were directed toward the measurement not of abilities, but of ability. Even prior to the appearance of intelligence tests, it was evident that testers were seeking ways of gauging the individual's overall ability. The early explorations of sensory and motor tests were undertaken largely for this purpose. Both Galton and Cattell, for example, expressed the belief that tests of sensory discrimination, reaction time, and the like might provide an index of general intellectual functioning.

Interest in a single, global index of intelligence was likewise stimulated by Spearman's Two-Factor Theory. According to this theory, the object of testing was to measure the g-factor, which was believed to have the highest saturation in tests requiring the education of relations in relatively abstract material.

The Binet tests represented still another approach to the global measurement of intelligence. The distinctive feature of this approach is to be found in its utilization of many heterogeneous tasks. Through the sampling of a wide variety of functions, it was hoped that an estimate of the individual's average level of performance could be reached.

By providing a single summary score, the mental age, Binet further encouraged the global concept of intellect. This concept

became more firmly rooted in the thinking of psychologists with the introduction of the IQ in the first Stanford-Binet. Following the development of group tests and the rapid popularization of psychological testing in the 1920's, the IQ entered the vocabulary of the general public. Beginning as a particular type of score derived from an age scale, the intelligence quotient has gradually become a symbol for global intelligence. Today this concept of the IQ is as much a part of our culture—and as difficult to dislodge—as singing commercials and Howdy Doody.

LIMITATIONS OF INTELLIGENCE TESTS

That the IQ—or similar global scores—failed to provide a complete solution for testing problems was soon recognized. In the first place, although intelligence tests were originally designed to sample a wide variety of functions and thus estimate the individual's "general intellectual level," it became apparent that such tests were in fact quite *limited in their coverage*. Most intelligence tests were primarily measures of verbal ability and, to a lesser extent, of the ability to handle numerical and other abstract and symbolical relations. Gradually psychologists came to realize that the term "intelligence test" was a misnomer, since only certain aspects of intelligence

[From Anne Anastasi, "The Measurement of Abilities," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1 (Fall 1954): 164-168. Reprinted by permission of the author and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. Footnotes omitted.]

were measured by such tests. To fill some of the major gaps left by intelligence tests, psychometrists began to develop tests of so-called special aptitudes, such as mechanical, clerical, artistic, and musical aptitudes.

A second major limitation of intelligence tests became apparent with the growing recognition of *intra-individual variation in performance*. Thus scores obtained by the same person on different intelligence scales might vary considerably because of the different combination and proportion of heterogeneous functions covered by each scale. This made for confusion. At the same time, variations in performance from one type of test content to another often appeared to shed interesting light upon the subject's intellectual make-up. As a result, crude profile analyses were often attempted by comparing the individual's relative standing on different subtests or on different item types within the same scale.

Intelligence tests, however, are not designed for such differential analyses. The subtests or item groups are usually too unreliable to justify intra-individual comparisons. Moreover, in the construction of intelligence tests, the items or subtests are generally chosen to provide a unitary and internally consistent measure. In such a selection, an effort is therefore made to minimize, rather than maximize, intra-individual variation. Subtests or items which correlate low with the rest of the scale would, in general, be excluded. Yet these are the very parts which should probably have been retained if the emphasis had been placed on the differentiation of abilities.

DIFFERENTIAL APTITUDE TESTING

A strong impetus to the differential testing of aptitudes was provided by the increasing activities of psychologists in *vocational counseling*, as well as in the *selection and classification of industrial and military personnel*. The early development of specialized tests in clerical, mechanical, and other vocational areas is a reflection of such

interests. The assembling of test batteries for the selection of applicants for admission to schools of medicine, law, engineering, dentistry, and other professional fields represents a similar development which has been in progress for many years.

With the application of *factor analysis* to test scores, the intelligence tests themselves dissolved into more or less loosely joined aggregates of special aptitudes. Through such factorial techniques, the different abilities commonly grouped under "intelligence," as well as those traditionally designated as "special aptitudes," could be more systematically identified, sorted, and defined. Tests could then be selected so that each represented the best available measure of one of the traits or factors identified by factor analysis.

One of the chief practical outcomes of factor analysis has been the development of *differential aptitude batteries*. Among the best known may be cited the various forms and levels of the Thurstone PMA batteries, the DAT of The Psychological Corporation, the *Guilford-Zimmerman Aptitude Survey*, the *California Test of Mental Maturity*, the *General Aptitude Test Battery* prepared by the USES, and the classification batteries constructed first within the Air Force and more recently within all the Armed Services. These batteries are designed to provide an adequate measure of the individual's standing in each of a number of traits. In place of a total score or "IQ," a separate score is obtained for such traits as verbal comprehension, numerical aptitude, spatial visualization, arithmetic reasoning, perceptual speed, and the like. Such batteries thus provide a suitable instrument for making the kind of intra-individual or profile analysis which clinicians have been trying for many years to obtain from intelligence tests, with crude and often misleading results. These batteries also incorporate into a comprehensive and systematic testing program much of the information formerly obtained from special aptitude tests, since the differential batteries

cover some of the traits not ordinarily included in traditional intelligence tests.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Much of the confusion in current discussions of ability testing and of test results is understandable in the light of the evolution of such tests. Old and new categories, concepts, and theoretical frameworks often become thoroughly scrambled in these discussions. How can we move forward to meet practical testing needs while at the same time utilizing most fully the intervening theoretical advances? What are the basic problems requiring immediate attention? From among these problems, we shall examine four which seem to deserve special emphasis at this time.

(a) First, it is necessary to *re-orient our thinking regarding ability tests*. We need to replace the outworn, vague, and loosely defined categories of "intelligence" and "special aptitudes" with empirically defined group factors. Abilities are not organized in accordance with the traditional testing categories of "intelligence" and "special aptitudes." Intelligence tests, special aptitude tests, and differential aptitude batteries are not different types of tests, which measure dissimilar functions. For purposes of measurement, maximum utilization of available testing time can be achieved through a series of relatively homogeneous tests, each designed to measure a different aptitude. Such a procedure reduces ambiguity of test scores and thus facilitates the interpretation of individual differences. Moreover, scores on the separate tests can then be combined in the most effective ways for the prediction of particular criteria.

(b) Our second problem pertains to the development of individual scales for clinical use. In this connection, we need to *coordinate the construction of individual scales with the findings on trait organization*. To recommend the use of the better constructed group batteries for this purpose

would merely evade the problem. Individual testing permits the administration of types of items which are unsuitable for group testing. In individual tests, for example, the examiner is able to observe the subject's work methods, as well as the final solution. Scales for individual testing should be specially constructed so as to maximize the opportunities for individual observations. In this way, it is possible to capitalize upon the direct and intimate contacts between examiner and subject.

It is thus obvious that individual scales are here to stay, for the very good and sufficient reason that they fulfill testing needs not otherwise met. Efforts should therefore be made to bring individual tests into line with current knowledge regarding the nature and organization of human abilities. In the case of presently available individual scales, the selection and organization of items seem to have proceeded largely without benefit of factor analysis or of the existing body of data gathered through factorial studies. The differentiation between verbal and performance items, for example, is crude and superficial. "Verbal" is often used loosely to mean "orally administered." In terms of psychological processes, a performance test may resemble an oral test more closely than two oral or two performance tests resemble each other. Similarly, the subtests of individual scales exhibit only a vague correspondence to the categories of factorial studies. Test scores, furthermore, are still reported in the form of an IQ. To be sure, this score may be the statistically more elegant deviation IQ; but it is still a global score based upon heterogeneous functions combined in unknown proportions.

At the same time, clinicians often resort to some form of profile analysis for a variety of purposes. A discussion of scatter analysis on the Wechsler-Bellevue, for example, could easily occupy a whole three-hour symposium. Since most of the difficulties inherent in this procedure have already been fully reported in the literature, however, it is unnecessary to cite them

at this time. Suffice it to say that clinicians have repeatedly indicated their interest in the type of differential analysis for which current individual scales are notoriously unsuited. Why, then, do not the test constructors provide the clinicians with a scale whose subtests are functionally homogeneous, relatively uncorrelated, and sufficiently reliable for intra-individual comparisons?

(c) The third problem concerns the question of *combining test scores*. For most counseling or clinical purposes, a profile of test scores is undoubtedly more useful than any single composite score. Such a profile can be interpreted by the trained counselor or clinician in the light of other available information about the individual. The profile approach also lends itself to the more intensive study of individual cases characteristic of the counseling or clinical situation. On the other hand, many applications of aptitude tests require a composite score for the prediction of criterion status. This is especially true of group tests employed for screening or for classification, although other examples can be cited from current test usage. It is this practical demand for a composite score which is largely responsible for the survival of traditional group intelligence tests.

What is the solution? Are we to sacrifice the greater precision of differential testing and—at least for certain testing purposes—return to the hodgepodge IQ? Not at all. The differential batteries can achieve the same objective as traditional intelligence tests, with two advantages. First, they can provide composite scores based upon an empirically determined selection and weighting of component part scores. Secondly, they can provide a different composite score for different types of criteria.

Traditional intelligence tests have proved fairly valid as predictors of many common criteria. Since both the tests and the criteria are complex, overlapping is more likely than in the case of more homogeneous tests. Moreover, by a slow process of trial and error, the tests have evolved so that they now

cover a combination of aptitudes which is important in our culture. Many intelligence tests, for example, are moderately satisfactory predictors of academic achievement. In recognition of this fact, there is a growing tendency to label these tests more precisely as scholastic aptitude tests.

With differential batteries, however, the most suitable combination of part scores can be determined more deliberately, and hence more systematically and efficiently. This may be accomplished by computing regression equations for a limited number of broad criteria, such as different educational curricula, major types of occupations, and the like. The empirical data available for this purpose are still very meager. And little or nothing has been done toward working out weighted score composites for different criteria. It may be noted that the present recommendation merely urges that differential batteries prepared for general use be treated in the same fashion as the classification batteries developed by the Armed Services. For each of these military batteries, several different composite scores have been derived for predicting various criteria.

(d) The fourth and last problem is a more fundamental one. It is the problem of *interpreting test scores*. We would all agree that, in order to discover what a test measures, we must consider the objective validation data. Yet many test users, having satisfied themselves that the test score is "valid" against some criterion cited in the manual, feel that they have thereby given sufficient attention to the problem of validity and can now turn to other matters of more immediate concern. But validity is not a mere property of tests: it is an expression of their essential nature. Test scores can be operationally defined only in terms of their empirically demonstrated validities.

Whether we are dealing with "practical validity" in terms of everyday-life criteria, or with "factorial validity," the question actually concerns the interrelationships of behavior samples. In the case of practical validity, such behavior as school achieve-

ment or job performance may be correlated with test scores. In the case of factorial validity, different tests are correlated with each other. The identification of a factor means that certain relationships exist between tested behavior samples. And factorial validity indicates the extent to which the given test measures what is common to a specified group of tests.

Whatever technique is employed to find test validity, the meaning of a test score can be discovered only by an examination of the criterion against which validity was determined. Test results should be interpreted with reference to such criteria, rather than in terms of traditional test labels, archaic categories, or subjective and superficial inspection of test content.

HOW FAIR IS AN IQ TEST?

An intelligence test, it is claimed, can measure real "mental ability." If we grant that present tests are accurate we must then accept their findings—that rural children, on the average, are definitely inferior to city children in intelligence; that white children in the South are less intelligent than white children in the North; that youngsters from the lower socioeconomic levels in any American city rank about 8 to 10 IQ points, on the average, *below* those from upper-class levels. By the time they are 13 and 14, on the average, they lag behind by 20 to 23 IQ points!

The men who make the tests, like Terman and Otis, say these wide variations can be traced to actual "genetic superiority" or "genetic inferiority." Yet there is no evidence from the science of genetics to support the view that any socioeconomic class has greater claim to hereditary intelligence than any other.

At the University of Chicago, we are now engaged in studying this crucial problem: whether the wide variations in average group IQ's may not be chiefly a function of the kinds of problems and language used in the tests themselves, rather than of heredity.

Dr. Kenneth Eells studied the relative success of some 5,000 upper and lower social-class school children, living in a midwestern city. They answered 460 problems which are now incorporated in the 10 IQ tests most widely in use. In these 10 tests, there was not a single problem on which the children from low occupational and foreign background groups made superior scores to those of higher status. They managed to equal them on only 21 of the 460 problems, or less than five percent.

Eells found, as well, that the amount of difference between the two socioeconomic groups varied, depending on which test was used. This made it clear that at least part of the "class difference" must result from factors in the tests themselves.

Let us state the central problem in this way: in life as a whole, human beings engage in an amazing variety of mental activities. To measure the general ability of one person, as compared to another, the test maker must select types of problems which best represent this great range of human mental behavior. The evidence shows clearly that today's test makers have *not* included a wide range of mental problems in their tests.

[From Allison Davis and Robert Hess, "How Fair is an IQ Test?" *The University of Chicago Magazine*, January 1951. Reprinted by permission of *The University of Chicago Magazine*.]

Rather, they pose academic problems, the kind which are taught in the average classroom and which do not stem from real-life situations at all, but from a highly traditional, unrealistic middle-class school culture.

The cultural group which all present IQ tests favor is the middle class.

This is no minor problem. For in our country as a whole today, more than 60 out of 100 children live in families belonging to lower socioeconomic groups. In elementary schools, the ratio is 70 out of 100. The majority are native white, but millions more are Negroes or from white foreign-background stock.

On the other hand, 95 out of 100 teachers come from the middle classes, and from a cultural way of life markedly different from the majority of their pupils.

In the public schools of America, actually, there exists a great cultural divide. The lower-class children do not understand, and therefore cannot learn well, the teacher's culture. In turn, the teachers, and in lesser degree the social workers and clinicians, are trying earnestly to change the culture and basic way of life of more than half the children of America.

Small wonder they admit to feeling chronically anxious or "worried" and suffer a deep sense of failure, as a result of their honest, but ineffective efforts to help these children learn the school's culture.

They also face the extremely difficult task of trying to help children learn an unrealistic and extremely uninteresting curriculum.

The experiences symbolized in the textbooks of the first three or four grades, for example, are far more simple than those which the child has already met in his daily life. The stories seem foolish to lower-class children because the incidents appear unreal, the words strange. To the middle-class child, the drive of seeking his parents' and teachers' approval is usually strong enough to keep him trying but not strong enough to make him like reading.

To test our hypothesis that present test-problems use cultural experiences and words which are more familiar to the higher socioeconomic groups, Professor Ernest Haggard and our staff carried out another experiment with 656 pupils. First we gave them the standard verbal tests, and then a number of additional problems which we had tried to make "culturally fair."

On certain types of these "culture-fair" problems, such as analogies, we found the lower groups showing marked improvement in performance. To cite just one case. . . .

In the standard IQ test there is a problem of this kind:

A symphony is to a composer, as a book is to what?

paper; sculptor; author; musician; man.

On this specific problem, 81 percent of the higher socioeconomic pupils marked the correct answer. Only 52 percent of the lower group did.

Our new question yielded far different results. It read:

A baker goes with bread the same way that a carpenter goes with what?

a saw; a house; a spoon; a nail; a man.

This problem, using fair and simple words like "baker," "spoon," "nail," etc., was tougher intellectually for both groups and was therefore more honest and effective in helping spot the *most* able children. As a matter of fact, the proportion of correct answers was the same for both lower- and upper-class groups. (You may think that culturally this problem favored the children of unskilled and semiskilled workers, which we define as our lower economic group; actually it did not, for carpenters and bakers are seldom seen working or living in slum areas.)

To clinch our case—now that we knew how to remove the cultural bias from present test problems—we checked our work by

seeing whether we could deliberately make a problem much harder for the lower groups. So we took a problem like this, used in present tests:

A person who by mistake hits another person should:
say that he did not; forget it; say nothing; leave; beg pardon.

To introduce a greater verbal and cultural bias, we made it read:

A child who unintentionally injures another child should:
deny it; make amends; flee; be reticent; ignore it.

By using unfamiliar "literary" language, and making reading as well as vocabulary very important in the solution of the problem, we discriminated quite severely against the youngsters from the lower classes. Accordingly, they came out no less than 32 percentage points below the upper socio-economic group.

Yet after four years of research, we at first were inclined to accept the opinion that children from the lower occupational groups were, on the average, inferior in real intelligence. For there still was not a shred of statistically valid evidence that, on any range of mental problems, the lower occupational groups could do as well, in terms of absolute attainment, as the higher occupational groups.

So we set up "experimental" individual and group tests, using three-dimensional objects, words and pictures which are familiar to all the cultures, and then expressing, with these common symbols, the kind and range of problems found with equal frequency among all groups.

We did not try to make a "culture-free" test, since this is a human impossibility, but a "common-culture" or "culture-fair" test of intelligence. This, we hoped, could measure real genetic-developmental differences between individuals more truly than do present IQ tests.

The problems were constructed according to these principles:

1. The *materials* used in the problems should be equally familiar, or unfamiliar, to both high- and low-status children.
2. The *words* should be drawn from a vocabulary common to both.
3. The *mental task* involved should not be a task likely to have been emphasized or taught, in either the home or school, to children of any particular class.
4. The problem should be *intrinsically motivating* to children of levels.

We are *controlling*, in short, rather than *eliminating*, cultural factors in the testing.

Hess assembled problems for an individual test for pupils of six-and-a-half through nine-and-a-half years of age. Then trained graduate students administered the test to 545 public school pupils in Chicago. The youngsters came from three broad groups, according to the occupation of their fathers: high-status white children, whose parents were professional or managerial people; low-status white children, whose parents were unskilled or semiskilled workers; and low-status Negro children, whose parents were unskilled workers or unemployed.

On a standard IQ test, the low-status white group scored nearly eight points *below* the high-status white group; but on the new test, it equalled them at each age level. The low-status Negro group averaged 20 IQ points below the high-status white group on the usual IQ test. On the new test, though they averaged somewhat lower than the two white groups, the IQ score-advantage of the high-status white group was substantially reduced.

As we indicated, one of the basic aims of our new test was to measure mental ability, not educational achievement. Performance of both high- and low-status-class pupils on the experimental test does not deny that the former can read or write better, on the average, than the latter, for they are better motivated to do so. It does suggest, however, that on those problems with which he

is equally familiar, the low-status child can match the problem-solving ability of the higher-status child. A bright child is apt to be even "brighter" if his father is a solid citizen in the community, but the intelligence of an equally bright child is apt to be underestimated if he does not show the middle-status traits of neatness, cooperation, docility, cleanliness, and eagerness for school tasks. It is important for teachers to understand this tendency to overvalue and label as "intelligent" certain patterns of behavior which are, perhaps, completely irrelevant to the question of mental endowment.

Our findings also imply a responsibility

for keeping open the routes of upward social movement, to the youth of the United States, through education and training. We do not mean that the culture of high-status groups should be imposed upon bright children of low-status levels. But certainly every reasonable effort should be made to help the child with talent to move into higher economic and social levels, if he so chooses.

Opportunity for climbing the social and economic ladder is one of the genuinely democratic aspects of American life; these channels must be kept open for the great numbers of children who are talented but underprivileged.



11. ASSESSMENT OF ACHIEVEMENT

Achievement tests attempt to measure an individual's or group's proficiency or accomplishment—what has been achieved. Achievement tests feature certain uniquenesses, some of which are revealed in the two readings in this section.

In the first selection, Emery Bliesmer discusses the diagnostic use of achievement tests. In this discussion, he explains grade-equivalent scores, frequently used in achievement testing, and defines curricular validity, the technique of validating an achievement test by comparing the item content to local course content. He further discusses the necessity of comparing the individual's achievement to his aptitude or potential, and includes some of the uses, as well as weaknesses, of achievement tests.

Warren G. Findley, who has helped construct achievement tests, relates in the second reading the progress that has been made in the measurement of achievement. He presents a new scaling technique that has advantages over the presently used grade-equivalent score and treats tests that attempt to get at understanding rather than memorization of facts. Achievement tests of the future may possess some of these improvements.

USING AND INTERPRETING ACHIEVEMENT TEST RESULTS

A considerable outlay of time, effort, and money is entailed in the widespread use of standardized achievement tests in elementary schools. The extent to which this outlay can be justified depends upon the uses made of test results or scores. What, then, are some uses to be made of test results? How can teachers use and interpret obtained test results so that they will be able to help pupils more effectively?

Test results may be used as one of several means of determining progress made over a period of time. For this purpose, of course, tests will need to have been administered at regular intervals. In schools which have a regular testing program, achievement tests are usually administered once each year, typically at either the beginning or end of the school year.

The typical achievement test consists of a number of tests, or subtests, for each of various curricular areas (such as tests for reading, arithmetic, social studies, language skills, and spelling) rather than being just one general test. One of the scores usually obtained is an "average achievement" score, an average of all the subtest scores. This average score can be relatively meaningless. If, as sometimes happens, a child should do rather well on some subtests but has rather low scores on others, the average score alone would give no indication of this. To be of help to a child, a teacher needs to know in which areas he might be strong and in which ones he might be weak; and the various subtest scores will need to be studied to determine this. Also, if several subtest scores are involved in an "average" reading,

arithmetic, language skills, or other score, the subtest scores involved will need to be examined if better knowledge and understanding of a child's achievement in an area is to be obtained. Similarly, possible areas of strength and weakness for a class may be revealed by studying the average score of the class on each subtest.

DIAGNOSTIC USE

While achievement tests are not strictly diagnostic tests, they may be used in a diagnostic way, to some extent—particularly in discovering weaknesses or needs of pupils who have low scores. When used for this purpose, the teacher will need to study a child's performance on each item of a particular subtest and note the understandings and skills involved in the items missed. For example, a child might have answered correctly most of the basic addition, subtraction, and multiplication facts in an "Arithmetic: Fundamental Operations" subtest but might have answered wrongly most of the items involving division facts. Just looking at his subtest score alone would not reveal this lack of mastery of division facts. Or it might be discovered that a child missed very few items involving basic facts of addition, subtraction, etc. but he missed quite a number of problems, indicating a possible weakness in making functional application of basic number facts or in determining what fundamental operations (such as addition or multiplication) are involved in given problem situations.

Analysis of a child's performance on a

[From Emery P. Bliesmer, "Using and Interpreting Achievement Test Results," *Education*, 77 (March 1957): 391-394. Reprinted by permission of *Education*.]

reading subtest might show very few mistakes on items calling for recall or recognition of stated facts but most of the errors occurring on items which required drawing conclusions or formulating main ideas. Indications resulting from this type of analysis of performance serve as cues for further investigation with various individual children. Further checking is needed because the number of items involving each of a number of specific understandings or skills is usually too small to warrant definite diagnoses or conclusions.

ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL

Parents and teachers are sometimes puzzled by what seems to be a discrepancy between a child's achievement level, as indicated by a test score, and the level at which he can actually perform in daily school activities. This is perhaps most often noticeable in the area of reading. For example a pupil may have a fifth grade level reading achievement score; but the teacher finds that in his daily school work he is able to read adequately materials of only a fourth grade, or lower, level. Research relative to this "discrepancy" is, in general, lacking; but there are seemingly plausible explanations. Many children work on tests with a high and intense degree of effort and concentration. The relatively short time required by tests enables a child to continue this high level effort throughout the test, or most of it. If children worked at this maximum level or peak pitch day after day in school, classrooms would probably be filled with emotionally exhausted or worn out children. Thus, the level at which children can work successfully with some degree of ease and comfort (the instructional level) may quite often be lower than the achievement level.

CONCERNING PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

A somewhat obvious purpose which tests serve is to compare or rank pupils or classes.

Quick study of a set of scores will usually reveal which children achieved at highest, around average, and at lowest levels. After working with a class for a time, most teachers will already have a fair notion of relative rankings of pupils. However, judgments of teachers, just as those of others, are not always reliable; and test results may reveal some children for whom a teacher's opinions are overestimates or underestimates and for whom, consequently, expectations may be too high or too low. When average scores of classes are determined, classes within a school, or schools within a system, may be compared. However, ranking or comparing should not be the sole, or even primary, function of tests. Test scores will reveal achievement status at the time a test is given; but to be helpful to teachers and children, the how and why of individual statuses need to be examined.

TEST SCORES

Thus far in this paper, a term, "test scores," has been used without acknowledging that there are various kinds of scores. The number of items answered correctly on a test (the raw score) is a relatively meaningless score. With standardized tests, tables of norms which enable us to convert raw scores into a more meaningful type of score are usually presented in manuals or directions accompanying the test. The most meaningful and most frequently used type of achievement test score in elementary schools is the *grade-equivalent score*. This is usually expressed in terms of school years and months. For example, a grade-equivalent score of 4.6 would be read as the sixth month of the fourth grade and would mean that a child's performance on a given test is typical of children who are in the sixth month of fourth grade. *Age-equivalent* scores are also frequently determined but are usually of less use to classroom teachers. Such scores are expressed in terms of years and months and indicate the chronological age level for which a given

test performance or raw score is typical. For example, an age-equivalent score of 11-3 for a child would mean that his performance is typical of children who are eleven years, three months old. Scores may also be expressed in terms of *percentile ranks*, which indicate the rank of a given raw score by telling what percent of scores would typically be lower than a given one. This type of score is used widely at high school and college levels but used somewhat infrequently at elementary levels.

A reference standard often used, in practice, to evaluate a pupil's performance on a given test is his grade-placement level. If, for example, he is in the ninth month of the fourth grade and his grade-equivalent score on a test given at that time is 4.9 (corresponding with his grade-placement level), he is often considered to have met expectations. If, however, his score is somewhat lower (for example, 4.1), he is often regarded as having fallen below standards or expectations. To do justice to a child and to be of most help to him, expectations or standards need to be based upon his intelligence, or capacity, or potential, level. Since intelligence levels of children in a typical class will vary, expectations or standards will also vary for different children. In the illustration above, an expectation level of 4.9 (grade-equivalent) would be justified, generally, only for those children in the class who were of average intelligence. It would be too high for pupils of below average intelligence and too low for the bright pupils. In schools where children are grouped into classes according to intelligence, it is possible that in some classes no child could reasonably be expected to achieve at grade-placement level and that in other classes the expectation level for every child would be above his grade-placement level.

It is not to be inferred that achievement test scores are infallible or that implicit faith can always be placed in the validity of scores. Sometimes the ways in, or the condi-

tions under, which a pupil works on a test are such that his scores are rather inaccurate indications of what he can actually do. A child may, for some reason be so upset that he cannot concentrate upon and direct his efforts toward the demands of the test. Because of repeated failure in much of their school work, some children react to tests by giving up without further trial or effort after meeting several relatively difficult (for them) items, or they mark items indiscriminately. Some might have misunderstood directions and, so, have indicated their answers incorrectly. A pupil might be ill and be unable to perform at his best. If a child is a poor reader, he may be unable to read a test adequately; and his scores on subtests for some areas may reflect his poor reading ability rather than his achievement in those areas. These and other factors may operate to make some children's scores inaccurate indications of actual achievement levels. A teacher needs to have information concerning the conditions under which various pupils took a test if she is to interpret and use test scores effectively.

To make administration of tests in schools feasible and practical, a test is, of necessity, a representative sampling, rather than a complete coverage, of the many skills and understandings involved in an area. This does not invalidate the use of a test; however, the possibility that a child has a considerable number of other understandings or skills that the test does not sample needs to be considered. It might also be found that the content of a particular test is quite inconsistent with the curricular content of a particular school or a number of schools; children in those schools may then have had little contact with or exposure to the type of content involved in a particular test. It also needs to be realized that some degree of error is involved in scores obtained with the best of tests; test scores are approximations of true or actual achievement rather than exact or completely accurate indications.

PROGRESS IN THE MEASUREMENT OF ACHIEVEMENT

It is not surprising to find that achievement testing is being strongly influenced by major trends in education: curricular, supervisory, administrative, psychological, and philosophical. The current trends toward more democratic methods of administration and supervision, emphasis on growth in common learnings or in general education, acceptance of the child as a unified organism whose many-sided development is to be promoted over an extended period, all have cumulatively led to a demand for achievement tests and programs of achievement testing to move in definite directions.

1. If measurement is to contribute to promotion of growth, then it is essential that tests, instruments, procedures, and programs be designed to reflect growth and development, as distinguished from status. The California Achievement Tests with their measures of reading, mathematics, and language from grade 1 through grade 14 reflect the clearest recognition of this trend in present tests. It is significant that the state of California has long been known for its community college movement extending education for a great part of the population through grade 14.

2. If growth is to be significantly interpreted over a wide range of development, units need to be devised that are as free as possible of basic dependence on grade or age norms. If, as we may expect, some individuals and groups not only do not progress but actually lose ground in some areas through disuse, our measures should reflect this. A significant beginning in attacking this problem has been made by Ledyard Tucker

in adapting and extending psychological scaling techniques to the measurement of growth in vocabulary. Briefly, his procedure is to administer many items to large numbers of individuals of all ages and different educational status and to build from groups of individuals and of items that stand at the 50 percent point on the scale of correctness of response: Thus, he starts with a set of items answered with almost exactly 50 percent success by the whole population, and then finds a group of subjects who achieved almost exactly 50 percent success on these questions. Those individuals who can answer the original set of items with almost exactly 70 percent success are one unit more able than the original group; moreover, the block of items that these more successful individuals can answer with almost exactly 50 percent success are deemed one unit more difficult than the original set. Proceeding a step farther, those individuals who can answer the second set of items with 70 percent success are one unit more able than the second group and two units more able than the original group. Similarly, a set of items that this third group of individuals can answer with 50 percent success are deemed one unit more difficult than the second set of items, which this group answered with 70 percent success, and two units more difficult than the original set of items. The scale can obviously be extended downward in similar fashion to measure less able individuals and to establish less difficult sets of items to measure their performance. Further extension and adaptation of this scaling technique will be re-

[From Warren G. Findley, "Progress in the Measurement of Achievement," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 14 (Summer 1954): 255-259. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.]

quired if it is to serve in the more heterogeneous areas of substantive knowledge. Wherever and to the extent that such a scale can be established, ordinary grade and age norms can be expressed in terms of scale points, and retrogression as well as progression can be measured for any individual, class, school system, or other meaningful category of persons.

3. Once we accept the promotion of educational growth of schoolchildren as the primary goal of instruction and testing, several emphases change.

(a) Fall testing to appraise where students stand, as a point of departure for teaching and learning, more and more takes precedence over end-of-year evaluations. If annual fall testing is made the rule, the results can be used immediately by each teacher to guide his instructional emphasis, while administrative and guidance uses of test results can be as well served as in "final" testing.

(b) Educational growth is specific and is best promoted by teaching aimed at specific goals or objectives. Teacher use of test results in instruction, then, requires that tests yield scores for specific, improvable skills, rather than heterogeneous, undefined, and misleading "subjects." "Test B: Work-Study Skills" of the Iowa Every-Pupil Tests of Basic Skills, with its five separate measures of skill in reading maps, using a dictionary, using an index, consulting reference sources, and interpreting charts, tables, and graphs, is an excellent example of such a test. Such specificity is especially helpful in talking with parents whose interpretations of data about "subjects" are bound to be colored by their remembrance of what those subjects implied when they were in school.

(c) Teachers also benefit if achievement tests lend themselves to analysis of pupil errors. Diagnostic testing in the sense of identifying highly specific error-types has generally been done by teachers

with exercises they have composed or taken from textbooks; workbooks serve both a diagnostic and a remedial function. Most achievement batteries now provide aids for grouping item evidence on major error-types for analysis of a semidiagnostic sort.

(d) Teachers are always more interested in interpretations that describe what a pupil can do, rather than in how he stands on a derived scale that has meaning only in terms of average performance of groups. The scaling technique mentioned earlier has the advantage that, in addition to describing progress on a scale that is independent of norms, it permits describing an individual's achievement in terms of his being able to "answer questions like this with 70 percent accuracy." The manual for such a test could carry extensive samples to define scale points in the test.

(e) An important aid to teachers in using growth measures is the cumulative record. A pupil's achievement in the current year's testing takes on added significance when judged in the light of previous achievement and relevant notations about health, social and emotional development, and so forth, that may be entered on such a record. A pupil's seemingly mediocre achievement one year may represent significant improvement over his very poor achievement of earlier years, as a result of serious effort on his part and, perhaps, special assistance by his teacher. Such progress, which could not be inferred from the results of a given year's testing alone, merits attention and encouragement.

4. A point not to be overlooked in a programmed use of achievement tests is that they have differential guidance value. Group tests of mental abilities continue to use tests of vocabulary and reading as the chief components of their measures of "verbal ability," and arithmetic computation and problem tests to measure "quantitative ability." And

in the typical curricula of elementary, secondary, and higher education it is primarily verbal ability and, next, quantitative ability that make for scholastic success generally. We have, then, in any well-rounded program of achievement testing the measures of ability needed for any long-term predictive purposes and under names that do not involve the stigma that goes with the term "intelligence." Oh, yes, let us still use other measures of readiness to learn in the early school grades to help us ascertain the causes of learning difficulty and the prospects of individual improvement, but let us recognize what we call variously achievement, abilities, aptitudes, intelligence, as competences in basic media of thought and utilize measures of them for all of their proven functions.

5. The previous point is further reinforced by the observable trend in achievement testing to employ test exercises that compel the student to apply what he knows in a moderately novel, practical situation, rather than merely to recognize facts or perform routine operations. Such testing implies the use of a blend of mental ability and substantive knowledge and thereby denies the usefulness of distinguishing sharply between components of aptitude and achievement in effective mental behavior. This trend is best illustrated by hypothetical map exercises testing understanding of economic geography, found in many current social studies tests. Of course, the "original" problem in mathematics or science, the sight translation in languages, and the editing exercise in English have reflected this emphasis for some time. A systematic effort to illustrate and demonstrate the values of this emphasis in the several subject fields may be found in the Forty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education entitled *The Measurement of Understanding*.

6. There is an obvious trend toward batteries of measures of common learnings or general education at all levels. For some

time now test publishers have supported the costs of end-of-course tests in single subjects by the proceeds from general achievement batteries and mental ability tests. With curricula in flux and with desirable variation from place to place in instructional objectives, standardized end-of-course tests have presented little to commend them to alert teachers or departments whose final examinations serve their purposes sufficiently and who can master the art of test construction under guidance if uniform objective examinations for the local course become desirable. An exception would be subject achievement tests used in selective admissions programs at college entrance level or higher; professional development of such tests becomes essential, but such tests are still less profitable and less generally useful than batteries of general achievement and aptitude measures. A further exception would be professional certification examination, development of which calls for collaboration of high-level content specialists and test specialists.

7. A promising new technique for measuring ability to write effective English is worthy of mention. Past measures leaving the individual free to write or correct copy have proved woefully unreliable, while multiple-choice correction exercises have been subject to the criticism of presenting a recognition test of an essentially recall skill. The English Committee of the College Entrance Examination Board has developed an "interlinear" measure of writing that presents triple-spaced bad copy for free editing, but provides a highly objective pretested scoring key for corrections required that yields reader reliability of .95 or higher. The correlation of interlinear test scores with college grades in composition is higher than correlations with such grades previously attained by composition tests and contributes uniquely to the multiple correlation with grades when the Scholastic Aptitude Test, Verbal Score, is also involved as a predictor.

12. ASSESSMENT OF INTERESTS

An interest declares itself in an individual's tendency to seek out an activity or object. Its opposite, an *aversion*, is a tendency to reject an activity or object. Most counselors recognize the inventory of interests as vital in occupational or course selection.

How can interests be assessed? One method provides for the individual to state his interests. Another technique includes observation of what the individual does, as an indication of manifest interest—what are his hobbies, his success experiences in school, his work experience, and so forth. The most common instrument used by counselors is the interest inventory, which appraises an individual's level of interest in a variety of types of activities.

Donald Super, who has devoted much of his professional life to the topic of individual appraisal, discusses some of these methods in the following reading. In his article he also relates a short history of interest appraisal and then discusses some of the current problems confronting interest assessment.

In the second reading, Salvatore G. DiMichael discusses the use of interest inventory results in the counseling interview. He examines some questionable practices in the interpretation of the results of interest inventories and then suggests more acceptable interpretation techniques.

G. Frederick Kuder, author of one of the most widely used interest inventories, discusses the problem of faking or falsifying answers on inventories.

THE MEASUREMENT OF INTERESTS

Psychologists have been measuring interests for at least thirty-five years now, for it was in 1919 that Yoakum's seminar at Carnegie Tech began its work in this field, and two years later that Bruce Moore's monograph [4] on the interests of engineers appeared. Twenty-three years ago Douglas Fryer

found enough material for a 500-page treatise on *The Measurement of Interests* [3]. Five years ago the writer devoted 105 pages to interest measurement in his text [7]. And, in the *Fourth Mental Measurements Yearbook* [2], Buros devoted 16 pages to interest tests.

[From Donald E. Super, "The Measurement of Interests," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1 (Fall 1954): 168-171. Reprinted by permission of the author and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*.]

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These facts would seem to imply that much has been done in the field of interest measurement, and much activity implies considerable achievement. If we were to judge accomplishment in this area by the number of measuring instruments published, the record of accomplishment would appear reasonably impressive: Buros' current yearbook lists 13 interest inventories, and omitted 3 others for a total of 16 which are now on the market and available for general use. If we apply a more stringent but commonly accepted standard, and judge by the number of interest measures for which there are available enough normative and validity data to make possible their use in counseling or selection, the record of accomplishment is, however, woefully inadequate. The fact is, that of the 16 interest inventories now available, only 2 have been sufficiently studied for practical use. Only 2 have known reliabilities which are adequate, normative data which make possible comparisons with occupational groups, and validity data which indicate the relationship between test scores and success or satisfaction in the field of work. And, if we apply the somewhat more exacting standards advocated by some psychologists, only 1 of these instruments can be considered really acceptable.

Viewed from another perspective the record is much more impressive, for the research which has been completed with one of these interest inventories [6] is not only voluminous but has been well designed and has dealt with many significant problems. One cannot but wonder in passing how it has happened that *one* instrument, *one* person, have played so large a part in adding to a field of psychological knowledge.

This state of affairs, in which we have only one interest measure which has been adequately studied and which has been extensively used in interest research presents us with a number of important practical and theoretical problems. It is impossible to treat these here in any detail, but, after

briefly reviewing the nature of the interest measures now available, it is well to mention two of the most significant of these theoretical and practical problems, and then to elaborate upon two aspects of a third.

METHODS OF MEASURING INTERESTS

There are in existence two basic methods of measuring interests, each with several variations. The *inventory technique* is the most frequently exploited: in it the examinee states whether or not he likes a given activity, or ranks it in relation to other activities with which it is compared. The *test method* has much less often been tried, and tests which might be called interest tests are generally classified as vocabulary, information, or attention tests because they assess interest by ascertaining the relative amounts of information retained from different types of activity or subject-matter, the assumption being that intra-individual differences in ability are not significant for these purposes.

The *content* of the inventory or test may also vary, giving rise to subcategories within each of my two main classes of interest measures. Thus the *inventory* may contain items which are clearly occupational such as job titles, items which tap occupational activities but are not so clearly labeled occupational, or items which have no direct connection with occupations. The scores derived from responses to these items may be designed to reflect the type of activity liked by the examinee, or the extent to which his likes and dislikes resemble those of workers in an occupation. The content of the interest *test* may consist of vocabulary items, and thus be heavily intellectual, it may consist of subject-matter questions which reflect exposure to those subjects even more than ability or interest, or it may consist of unfamiliar material the selective recall or recognition of which is tested after preliminary exposure to the subject.

The first two problems which are to be pinpointed stem from this variety of methods used in measuring interests.

GENERALIZABILITY OF INVENTORY RESEARCH RESULTS

One problem is that of the generalizability of the results of research with one inventory to other interest inventories. Even when both the measure of interest used in the basic research and the measure being used in practice are inventories, differences in the construction of the inventories raise questions concerning the generalizability of research results.

For example, studies of the long-term stability of interests, of the predictive value of interest for occupational entry and retention, and of the relationship between experience and interests, have virtually all been carried out with Strong's *Vocational Interest Blank*, and even the studies of the relationship between interest on the one hand and satisfaction or success on the other have largely used this same inventory [7:431-440, 459-463, 472-475]. Can one legitimately reason from Strong's Blank to the Kuder, to the Brainard, or to the Lee-Thorpe, and infer that Kuder, Brainard, or Lee-Thorpe scores will change little in adolescence, that such change as does take place will be in the direction of increased social and lessened technical interests, that change in adulthood will be negligible, that men will tend to gravitate toward occupations for which they had appropriate inventoried interests even before they worked, and that scores on the Lee-Thorpe or Brainard will predict satisfaction or occupational stability better than earnings in most occupations? These are practical questions for test users, and they are important questions for theories of interest. They have not so far been answered.

The questions are much more important in the field of interest than they are, for example, in the more thoroughly explored

field of intelligence testing, for despite some studies of the intercorrelations of interest inventory scores we know very little about the effects of the different methods of construction and the different types of content upon the meaning of inventoried interests.

ATTENTION AS A MEASURE OF INTEREST

Attention being selective, measures of varied types of information such as the *Cooperative Contemporary Affairs Test*, the *Michigan Vocabulary Profile Test*, and the *O'Rourke Mechanical Aptitude Test* have occasionally been used as interest tests and have been shown to have interest components. Some years ago the writer sponsored a series of studies in which selective retention of the details of pictures of occupational activities was used in an attempt to develop an objective test of interests [5]. Although the notion of an objective test, rather than an inventory, of interests has had considerable appeal here and abroad, problems of the development of test methods, and of the relationship between selective memory and self-description as measures of interest, have hardly begun to be studied.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERESTS

In summarizing previous research on the development of inventoried interests several years ago, I was led to the following conclusion: ". . . interest patterns begin to crystallize by early adolescence, and the exploratory experiences of the adolescent years in most cases merely clarify and elaborate upon what has already begun to take shape. Some persons experience significant changes during adolescence and early adulthood, but these are most often related to endocrine changes, and less often to changes in the self-concept resulting from having attempted to live up to a mis-

identification and to fit into an inappropriate pattern. Vocational interest patterns generally have a substantial degree of permanence at this stage: for most persons adolescent exploration is an awakening to something that is already there." [7:406]

The fact that in some instances changes in inventoried interests take place in late adolescence has recently been pointed up by Bordin and Wilson [1], who studied changes in Kuder scores associated with changes of curriculum during the first year in college. They concluded that "the results of this study provide unequivocal support for the assumption that inventoried vocational interests are dynamic phenomena reflecting changes in the individual's perceptions of himself." In thus describing their results the impression is given that change of interests is more common than it actually is, for 165 of the students acted as the inventory predicted, whereas 91 were, at the end of one year, not doing what one would predict from their interest scores. Strong's data suggest that long-term changes of occupation may be more toward appropriate than toward inappropriate fields [6: Ch. 16]. Even with the one-year interval Bordin and Wilson's data showed considerably more stability than instability of interests, as evidenced by the test-retest reliabilities in both the educationally stable (.68 to .86) and unstable groups (.51 to .78), and by the considerably larger size of the group of students whose interests showed no appreciable change.

IMPLICATIONS

Two related problems, one more theoretical and one more practical, are pointed up by what we now know about interest-inventory scores and experience. The first of these has to do with the development of vocational interests, or, to adopt and adapt the terminology suggested by Bordin's theory, the development of the self-concept and its translation into occupational ambitions. If this development takes place

in most people before adolescence, as has been amply demonstrated, what is the nature of the early experiences which bring it about? It is important to education and to guidance to know what experiences contribute to the development of self-concepts which are easily translated in adolescence, even without vocational experience or training, into appropriate occupational interests.

The second problem is closely related to the first, but of more immediate practical importance to the counseling psychologist. It is the question of the identification of two types of students or clients whose interest inventory scores are misleading, who need more intensive counseling of a therapeutic variety, and who should be distinguished from other individuals whose inventoried interests are valid and whose counseling needs consist of clarifying their objectives and of finding the means of attaining them.

The first type of individual is the client whose self-concept is inappropriate, whose translation of this self-concept into an occupational stereotype by means of interest inventory scores is therefore misleading, and who is not likely to be helped with his long-term vocational adjustment until therapeutic counseling has resulted in the development of a more realistic self-concept. The second type of individual is one whose self-concept may be realistic, but who has not succeeded in translating it into an appropriate occupational stereotype: this type of client may need counseling which further clarifies his self-concept and which assists him through occupational orientation to find and understand occupational outlets which are appropriate for it.

At present, counseling psychologists rely on a variety of interviewing, testing, and projective methods to identify those individuals whose interests are not to be taken at face value. It would be helpful if interest inventories had built into them or, more realistically, if psychologists had available for coordinate use, measures which would differentiate the interest profile which ade-

quately reflects an appropriate self-concept from the interest profile which is the result of inadequate perception either of the self or of the world of work.

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INTEREST-INVENTORY RESULTS DURING THE COUNSELING INTERVIEW

From observation of counseling practices and from listening to or reading about counselors' accounts of their techniques in interpreting psychological test results to clients, it is the writer's belief that a number of undesirable techniques are practiced widely in the interpretation of interest inventories in counseling. Some of the questionable practices are: (1) the very early use of an interest inventory ostensibly to assist in gaining rapport; (2) administering and interpreting an interest inventory as a foundation upon which to determine the kinds of aptitudes, abilities, and achievement tests to give within the areas of tested interests; (3) the early interpretation of interest-inventory scores in counseling, and (4) the counseling approach which leaves the client with the idea that interest scores are simple entities, as stable as aptitude scores and practically fixed for life after the age of 17 or 21.

This article attempts a short exposition on

the use of interest-inventory scores in the counseling interview in which the primary purpose is to stimulate client self-insight. The main points of view are presented through a review of some pertinent literature, and the author's experience in counseling.

By way of giving the reader a preview, this article will first deal with the general counseling approaches in interpreting the interest inventory to the client, and then will consider special problems arising from a discrepancy between interests and abilities, the stability of interests, differences between measured and professed interests, and the relation of interest scores to personality traits.

According to the literature, the two foremost authorities in counseling techniques of interpreting the results of interest inventories are Darley and Strong. In the latter's major publication, he seems to underwrite and approve completely the methods described by

[From Salvatore G. DiMichael, "Interest-inventory Results During the Counseling Interview," *Occupations*, 30 (November 1951): 93-97. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

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Darley in an earlier report. In fact, Strong seems to regard his viewpoints on the subject so similar to those of Darley that no attempt is made to point out possible minor differences.

Out of "bitter experience" Darley asserted that the wrong way to present interest scores is to make a statement such as "You have the interests of a YMCA secretary or of a personnel manager." Such a statement is undesirable because (a) it arouses stereotypes in the mind of the counselee which are difficult to understand; (b) it makes the student believe that he has abilities as well as interests in the occupation mentioned; (c) it creates skepticism in the mind of the counselee who may inquire how the counselor can say such a thing when the student has never had such an occupational experience, and (d) the counselee jumps to conclusions without rational considerations of his suitability for the occupation.

According to Dr. Darley, the best procedure is to withhold the interest inventory scores until the student has been prepared to hear them. It is recommended that the counselor should first ascertain all the evidence, including interest scores. He should then proceed to draw out the counselee as to his plans. Those that are in harmony with the counselor's conclusions may be utilized to guide the student in making the reasonable decision. The client's plans which are not in harmony with the counselor's conclusions must also be considered and the counselee's reasons carefully analyzed to ascertain the realistic and the unreasonable ideas in the counselee's mind. Whenever desirable, the student should be instructed in the counseling interview to secure more facts about the occupation which he is considering.

Dr. Darley particularly emphasizes the idea that the counselee must be drawn out to discuss his assets and limitations. Then, using the counselee's own statements as cues, the counselor may introduce the interest-inventory results to indicate how they agree or disagree with the opinions of the counselee. It is interesting in this respect to see

how "indirective" Dr. Darley is in his approach. It has been maintained that Dr. Darley is one of the foremost exponents of the "directive" school of counseling. Such labels attached to as complex a process as counseling sometimes obscure rather than describe the actual methods and techniques employed by the counselor.

Dr. Strong emphasizes the fact that the counselee must be encouraged to think about his long-term objectives. He has found the statement "What do you daydream of doing 15 years from now?" to be helpful. Moreover, he makes considerable use of an "Interest Globe Chart" by which to show the counselee the types of occupations with which his interests seem to be associated. Strong emphasizes the point that the counselee must be made to realize that there are thousands of occupations similar to those stated on the Interest Globe Chart and that the counselee must think in broad terms rather than about the specific occupations listed on the chart.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

A. Discrepancies between Interests and Abilities: In the general population, there is only a moderately high correlation between inventoried or stated interests and abilities. Since the counseling caseloads of today are largely composed of the "problem cases" and not a true cross-section of the population it is to be expected that many clients will show discrepancies between stated preferences and abilities. For this reason, one of the persistent topics arising in the interpretation of interest-inventory scores is an explicit consideration of their relationship to realistic vocational, educational, and life goals. The writer has found that early introduction of interest scores without adequate data on aptitudes, abilities, and achievements makes it necessary to treat the partial results with many qualifications, the explanations for which represent some unnecessary loss of time; in some cases the clients are stimulated to raise personal doubts which later prove unwarranted.

In cases involving a wide discrepancy between interest and abilities, A. W. Combs suggests the use of nondirective techniques. The author's experience agrees with this viewpoint with clients whose interests are on a much higher level than abilities. However, the reverse condition of higher abilities and lower interests seems more amenable to counseling techniques involving encouragement, tentative analysis, reasoning as well as feeling, and assurance rather than clarification, reflection, or exclusively a feeling-content approach.

The use of the concept of "level of aspiration" is not given the emphasis which it deserves by counselors in general. Perhaps this is due to the difficulties in utilizing the concept in experimental studies, with its consequent lack of mention in our professional literature. However, "level of aspiration" is seriously considered by both Dr. Darley and Dr. Strong, the latter presenting some of the little experimental data on the subject. The Strong and the Lee-Thorpe Interest Inventories have scales to measure the level of aspiration. It is the writer's observation that counselor-psychologists are more persistent than other "breeds" of counselors in explicitly attributing importance to the relationship between aspirational and ability levels.

When clients show unrealistically high vocational goals, the counseling has proved to be far more difficult than with clients who have unduly low aspirations. The counseling approach was more nondirective for two main reasons: to learn more about the client's own attitudes, and to conduct a more intensive study of the client's history to formulate a hypothesis about the reasons for the discrepancies. When causes could be ascertained with some degree of confidence, the counseling approach made use of the insights and the writer suggested or encouraged self-initiated environmental changes which would result in a more congenial milieu.

B. *Stability of Interests:* In the writer's opinion, current professional literature emphasizes the stability of inventoried interest patterns to the point of neglecting to study

the instabilities. The average counselor's attitude toward the stability of interest-inventory scores is about the same as were former attitudes toward the stability of the IQ before the Iowa studies highlighted the stimulating and depressing effects of long-time environmental influences upon mental functioning. There is no desire here to question the experimentally verified fact that interest patterns *in general* correlate fairly high over a period of years in the mature young adult. However, counseling deals with the individual who may be a deviant in various degrees from the hypothetical average or from the much-less-than-perfect correlation coefficient of the group. Is it possible, then, to regard interest-inventory scores in the counseling interview as simple, permanent entities, or would it be more realistic to regard them as complex facts, almost as difficult to interpret to the client as the results of personality measurements?

Although it is generally recognized that specific interests and even interest patterns change in adolescents or in immature adults, it is also true that this happens with mature adults who have had limited or unusual experiences. For example, the writer found that some blind adults who have never done machine work become intensely interested in it after satisfactory learning experiences of fairly short duration. Moreover, some returning veterans radically changed their premilitary occupations and entered vocations associated with some of the work done in military service.

For the above reasons, the writer believes that certain proposals are justified. In the first place, the counselor should not imply in the counseling interview that interests are fixed in late adolescence or adulthood, and that inventory scores cannot be expected to change. Secondly the counselor should become aware of some of the motivating forces which cut across all interest patterns and seem to supersede them. Thus, an individual who is attracted by money or the prestige value of an occupation may change his interest patterns to conform to the new

work, now satisfying for its associated rather than internal factors. Moreover, interest patterns may be reflections of subconscious forces which are exceedingly strong and sometimes at variance with the interest patterns emanating from more superficial layers of the personality. Thus, a client may refuse to admit that he has excellent abilities in his father's line of work because of an underlying distaste for the possibilities of renewing parental domination while he learns to take over his father's successful business.

It has served the writer in good stead to emphasize in practice a point made by Dr. Strong, Dr. Darley, Dr. Kuder and others to the effect that counselors should consider with the client all interest scores, not only the high ones. The very low scores may sometimes raise clues worth exploring. Thus, the writer and others reviewed an "unsuccessful case" in which an individual with high abilities and inventoried interests in the engineering field summarily left college after one year of work. It turned out that he had a distaste for book learning, and practically the only clue that might have foreshadowed this outcome was a very low score in literary interests on the inventory.

C. Differences between Measured and Professed Interests: It is frequent in counseling to find individuals in whom the measured interests and their own subjective opinions do not coincide very well. This is a reflection of the fact that a correlation of approximately 0.55 between measured and expressed interests is found even in mature adults. The writer suggests the following as some considerations for dealing with such differences: (a) The interest-inventory scores should be introduced after obtaining comprehensive case data. It will then be possible to obtain clues or reasons which may enable both client and counselor to account for some of the discrepancies. (b) In a very brief statement, the counselor may explain that the inventory is so constructed that it permits the client to compare his responses with a certain population. This approach

may be used to show the client why his personal opinion and the inventory scores may be different without implying that one or the other is "wrong." (c) After presenting the inventory scores briefly but plainly, the client may be encouraged to discuss them with such a lead as "What do you think about the results?" "What ideas do you have about possible reasons for the differences?" (d) If the client dwells on specific jobs which interest him and are at variance with objectively determined interests, pertinent occupational information may be helpful, or the counselor must deal with the psychological needs of the client which supersede his inventoried interests. (e) More sophisticated and skeptical clients are sometimes amused at the results. In such cases, it seems best for reasons of rapport and working relationship to state frankly that such differences do appear and that often times the client himself has the best reasons to account for the differences. This technique takes the counselor off the defensive and promotes better relationship by the tacit admission that the client is more important than test results.

D. Relationship between Interest Scores and Personality Traits: The speculations about the genesis of interests add up to the conclusion that interest scores may reflect many things. Thus, interests may arise from environmental experiences associated with pleasure or displeasure; or they may develop because of better than average ability in exercising aptitudes; or they may reflect an individual's basic values of life; or they may be another mode of expression of the individual's personality characteristics. Undoubtedly, the interpretation of interest scores in the counseling interview must be considered in terms of the idea that interests are intimately bound up with all the layers and phases of both the personal and social personality characteristics. This fact makes it possible to stimulate the client to self-insight into his personality attributes by using the interest scores as a springboard for the discussion.

There is some experimental evidence of the correlations between interests and modes of personality adjustment (although practicing counselors have many more observations and hypotheses about the relationships). Dr. Darley found in one study that those with interests in social welfare and business contacts were better adjusted socially than persons with interests in linguistic and technical fields. In other words, those who find social experiences less pleasant are somewhat more apt to like to work with words, ideas, or things. In another study, F. O. Triggs correlated scores of 35 college men on various scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory with interest scores on the Kuder Preference Record. She found that higher scores on Depression correlated positively with clerical interests, and negatively with social service interests; that schizoid trends were somewhat greater among persons with musical and clerical interests; that psychasthenic tendencies were more apt to be associated with higher musical and clerical interests, and with lower scientific interests; that higher femininity scores were more apt to show lower mechanical interests; and that higher paranoid scores were less apt to appear in men with computational and scientific interests. (The same relationships were not found among the 60 college women in the same study, indicating that the relationship of interests and personality traits may not

be the same for women as for men in contemporary society.) A few other studies may be mentioned here but this seems unnecessary in order to establish the point that a consideration of interests could serve in the counseling interview as another fruitful lead to a better self-understanding of personality traits and their relationship to suitable vocational planning.

The most difficult psychological examination data to present to the client has proved to be the results of personality measurements. This counseling problem may be met more satisfactorily when interest scores are considered late in the analytical phases of counseling (before important decisions are made), rather than in the early phases of gaining rapport and forming a relationship. The later interpretation of interest scores makes it possible for the client to consider his personality attributes more objectively. The counselor has more of a chance to know the client, and the interviewing technique does not have to be nondirective because of a lack of understanding about the client's personality. Since the presentation of examination data on personality characteristics is not within the province of this paper, it is not being considered any further. The main purpose has been to show the potential usefulness of interpreting interest scores later in the counseling process as a means of stimulating the client to greater self-insight into his personality patterns.

EXPECTED DEVELOPMENTS IN INTEREST AND PERSONALITY INVENTORIES

I approach this subject with considerable hesitation. I have an uneasy feeling there are

some who believe that the best possible progress, so far as self-inventories are concerned,

[From G. Frederick Kuder, "Expected Developments in Interest and Personality Inventories," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 14 (Summer 1954): 265-271. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.]

would be simply to eliminate them. However, these questionnaires seem to be rather robust at the moment. Perhaps, therefore, you will not take it amiss if I spend a few moments on what may happen to them in the fairly near future?

THE DETECTION AND PREVENTION OF FAKING

The detection of faking is a subject which is of particular importance in this field of interest and personality. It would seem to be self-evident that there is no way of compelling anyone to answer questions carefully and sincerely. More than twenty years ago Strong and Steinmetz demonstrated in independent studies that scores on the *Strong Vocational Interest Blank* can be shifted markedly in the desired direction. The evidence from these and subsequent studies by others leaves little room for doubt that interest and personality inventories can be faked. Whether a subject chooses to prevaricate is another matter which apparently depends pretty much upon the situation and the disposition of the subject. It appears that sincere answers often are actually obtained even when it would seem to be to the advantage of the subject to dissimulate.

Whether a person has chosen to fake may be an academic question in many cases. But there are many situations in which there is strong motivation for distorting answers, and methods for determining whether faking has occurred become important. The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory is the outstanding example today of a test for which evidence on this point is available. I expect to see rather intensive research on this problem, and suspect some interesting devices will be built into new tests.

Methods for discouraging and preventing faking are also likely to be worked out. In this connection, I look for a trend in occupational inventories away from items with obvious vocational significance. One of the first interest inventories developed consisted entirely of titles of occupations. Such

items are, of course, the most obvious kind possible. We know, by now, that some questions can be found which are related to job satisfaction and which are not obvious to the subject. In the course of time, we may be able to build inventories composed entirely of such items. This trend will probably be a slow one, for we discover the less obvious items only by the tedious process of trial and error.

THE USE OF INVENTORIES AS PROJECTIVE DEVICES

Another promising trend is the one involving having items answered under hypothetical conditions. If these conditions are made vague enough, this procedure amounts to using inventories as projective devices. If we ask a subject to answer a blank so as to make the best impression on anyone who might see the answers, the subject can interpret "anyone" in any way he sees fit, and, we hope, in a way characteristic of his own general attitudes. Items administered in this form can, of course, be analyzed with respect to various criteria, and the pattern they make with the same items administered under standard conditions can also be analyzed with respect to the criteria. One nice advantage of the hypothetical approach is that the items are probably much more difficult to fake. It is possible that the conventional form of administration may sometimes be dispensed with altogether, as in the case of certain empathy tests.

It has been my experience that quite often the scores from tests given under the hypothetical conditions have little or no relation to scores obtained under standard conditions. For example, I find that a scale concerned with a preference for being active in groups correlates almost exactly zero with itself when taken first in the standard way and then so as to make the best possible impression. This is true also of a scale concerned with a preference for familiar and stable situations. And yet these scales are actually somewhat more reliable when given according to the

best impression directions than when taken in the standard fashion. Differences between the scores are, therefore, highly reliable, and give promise for study as predictor variables.

PATTERN INTERPRETATION

The importance of the reliability of the differences between scores is a point which has often been overlooked. Whenever profiles are used, there is implicit in the situation an evaluation of differences between scores. I expect more and more emphasis to be given to the importance of the reliability of these differences. We know that the differences between scores on two highly correlated tests are themselves quite unreliable. Yet how often are differences between such tests treated as though they were highly significant! On the other hand, if tests are uncorrelated, the reliability of differences in scores is just as reliable as the original tests. If profiles are to mean anything, the differences between the variables in them must be reliable. This requires inevitably that the measures used must be selected and developed so as to overlap relatively little. For profile analysis we need reliable and inde-

pendent measures, and I expect more emphasis on this objective in the future. It is a happy coincidence that such sets of measures simplify greatly the job of developing prediction equations.

There will, of course, be continued attention and progress in the interpretation of sets of test scores. These techniques will vary from the extremely simple ones which require little work and time to those that are costly in terms of time and money, but which are designed to squeeze a maximum of information out of the available data. It will be recognized, of course, that the technique appropriate for any situation will depend upon a number of considerations. I hope that some principles as to which technique is likely to be most fruitful within the limitations of a specific situation will be developed for the guidance of test technicians and counselors.

In the future there will no doubt be growing interest in tests of empathy. I expect to see increased attention given to the satisfaction a person gets from a course or a job as a criterion. All in all, we can look forward to quite a number of interesting developments.

13. ASSESSMENT OF PERSONALITY OR ADJUSTMENT

Counselors have instruments and supporting research sufficient to give them some degree of confidence in their assessment of aptitude, interest, and achievement. But the degree of confidence that they hold in their techniques of personality or adjustment assessment is much more limited—not because psychometrists haven't made a gallant effort to measure personality and adjustment, but because the obstacles are many. For one, psychologists have not yet agreed on a definition of personality, the first requisite for measurement.

Psychometrists have attempted to assess personality by various routes.

Commonly used testing instruments are the personality inventory, the problem check list, and the projective test.

In the first reading in this section, Joseph Zubin analyzes the contributions of various disciplines to the measurement of personality. He finds promise in some of the techniques that have been developed.

The second selection, by Morris Krugman, indicates how teachers and counselors become involved in the use of projective tests and describes how projective techniques were used by teachers for the purpose of understanding, not diagnosing, the behavior of children.

THE MEASUREMENT OF PERSONALITY

Personality is apparently another example of a shrinking universe which contracts as measurement expands. As we all know, personality, in the beginning, had everything. Then it lost its intelligence, and before it could recover lost its interest and its attitudes. It still feels, aspires, and has sentiments as long as they remain unmeasurable. Once they too fall under the psychometrician's ax, personality will be extinct.

But what keeps motivation, feeling, and sentiment out of the psychometrician's reach? Only one thing—the absence of an external criterion, independent of subjective, self-referred judgment. Had not Binet provided us with the external criterion of mental age, we would still be classifying people into "intelligent" and "unintelligent" the way Rorschach and his generation did. Such subjective self-referred judgments characterize all primitive measures. Height, weight, time, and warmth were evaluated subjectively long before objective measuring devices became available. The invention of such impersonal external criteria as yardsticks, balances, clocks, and thermometers permitted science to transcend self-reference as a criterion. We have not yet found external criteria for measuring motivation, feeling, and senti-

ment. That is why they, as well as their unanalyzed residue, personality, are still unmeasurable. This would be a good place to stop were it not for the fact that the term personality is here to stay no matter how objectively-minded psychologists may disdain it. Our problem is to find a suitable model or structure for it, which can be examined scientifically.

We shall define personality as the unique pattern of qualities which characterizes a given individual, and shall understand by measurement, the attempt first at isolating and then synthesizing the dimensions on which this uniqueness rests for the purpose of predicting behavior. Personality measurement grows out of the contributions of four fields: (1) differential psychology; (2) psychopathology; (3) personology; and (4) more recently, psychophysiology. Each of these fields has provided a model for personality theory and has developed techniques and methods with which to test the suitability of the model.

DIFFERENTIAL PSYCHOLOGY

This approach postulates that the unique nature of man can be arrived at through the

[From Joseph Zubin, "The Measurement of Personality," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1 (Fall 1954): 159-164. Reprinted by permission of the author and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*.]

analysis of his behavior into underlying traits and their interactions. It has exerted a powerful influence on personality measurement. The model which it presents of the structure of abilities, interests, and attitudes has been envied by personality researchers. They have attempted to build a corresponding model composed of orthogonal dimensions or traits in multidimensional space in which each individual occupies a point representing the intersection of the multidimensional planes that pass through him. Not satisfied in simply locating the individual in n-dimensional space, they provide the D index or average distance between individual locations so as to group neighbors who live closely together into neighborhoods that may perhaps be found in the vast hyperspaces, just as houses cluster over the countryside. This is quite suitable for *actuarial* prediction of educational progress, vocational adjustment, choice of therapy and its probable outcome. As far as the individual himself is concerned, once he finds his locus in this hyperspace, there is nothing left for him, to quote George Kelly, but to sit on his own continuum. The most promising technique for measuring personality which this field has yielded is the personality inventory, and the most promising methods it has provided are factor analysis—straight or inverted, discriminant analysis, and criterion analysis. Its actuarial success has been modest but sufficiently impressive to warrant its use in screening programs. It is not, however, suitable for individual use now.

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

Psychopathology is such a vast field that it defies simple definition. One of its postulates is that the mentally ill may be regarded as *types*—types of individuals who are unable to make a suitable adjustment to life. Whether the types emerge from a clustering of traits due to either heredity or environment or their interaction, or whether they represent disease processes which are independent of premorbid personality struc-

ture is still an open question. Nevertheless, psychopathologists have suggested that personality may be regarded as the central portion of the univariate or multivariate distribution, the extreme portions of which represent disease entities or reaction types. Examples of these typologies are Kraepelin's disease categories, Kretschmer's cycloids and schizoids, Jung's introverts and extroverts, Jaensch's E and I types, Freud's anal, oral, and genital characters, Horney's vectorial types and movers to, from, and with people, and so on.

Some of the techniques that have been borrowed by personality measurement from psychopathology are sorting tests, perseveration tests, persistence tests, and last but not least, projective techniques. The sorting techniques had a brief flurry of interest in the 30's in the studies of deterioration and of organicity in mental patients. Personality measurement took these over with the view of measuring rigidity and its opposite, flexibility. Similarly the clinical concepts of anxiety, perseveration, body-image, self-concept, emotional charge or cathexis, stress and homeostasis, and many others took their place as potential dimensions in the typological systems of personality classification. The wave of projective techniques in the 40's swept these techniques aside and today very little interest seems to be exhibited in them. Recently the method of classification which evolved out of the contributions of the psychopathologist has made considerable headway in both profile analysis and pattern analysis.

Projective techniques. These are the lustiest offspring of the marriage of psychopathology and personality measurement. They postulate that each of us carries within him an inner private world which is rarely exposed to the outside and is quite different from the public world which is readily available to external scrutiny. The latter is said to represent the conforming culturally determined behavior tapped by objective tests, while the former represents the repressed, suppressed, and still unexpressed

behavior not available to conventional tests. To pry open the inner world, it is claimed, projective techniques are required. Since motivation, feeling, sentiment, and style of behavior are largely parts of our inner world, projective techniques should prove to be the most important tools for the study of personality. Support for the belief in the existence of this private world comes not only from projective techniques and psychoanalysis but also from hard-headed neurophysiologists like Adrian, Sherrington, Brain, and Eccles.

Adrian has pointed out that the usual sequence of events in perception is that some stimulus to a receptor organ causes the discharge of impulses along afferent nerve fibers which are synaptic relays evoking specific spatio-temporal patterns of impulses in the cerebral cortex. This specific spatio-temporal pattern gives rise to the experience of a sensation (or when more complex, to a perception) which is projected (believed to occur) somewhere outside of the cortex, i.e., on the surface of the skin, within the body, or at a distance from the body. This model may be taken to represent the relationship between mind and brain at least as far as perception is concerned. Whether mind and brain events are merely concomitant or causally related is not definitely known. We do know, however, that some psychological events such as the perception of light can occur without the actual presentation of light to the eye. Direct stimulation of specified cortical areas will produce an effect similar to the light stimulus. Vocalization can be elicited, and other psychological events produced, by direct stimulation of certain other portions of the cortex without the voluntary cooperation of the subject and even apparently against his wishes. Furthermore, these brain events probably occur in early infancy before the subject presumably has sufficient previous experience to be aware of them or recognize them for what he and other babies will later take them to be. Such events certainly occur without his awareness.

These brain events and their mental correlates may constitute his earliest private world, from which his later public world arises through maturation, communication, experience, and education. It is also possible that some part of this private world never becomes public, but it perhaps exerts some influence on external behavior, especially in so far as appreciation of art, literature, and inkblots are concerned.

In the light of this hypothesis, all perception is projective since it is an internal brain event which has its localized reference elsewhere, either within the person's skin or outside of the person's skin. Paradoxically then, ordinary perception, including classic psychophysical perception, is projective, while the so-called projective techniques attempt to deal with the still unprojected or perhaps suppressed or repressed parts of the inner experience which accompanies cortical events. How can this material ever be investigated? Certainly not directly, for by definition it is unprojected. The only possible way it can be investigated is by its effects on projected perception. This indeed was probably why Rorschach postulated that the inner world of the person influenced his visual perception. The hypothesis for his experiment, though never specifically stated, was threefold: (1) how we perceive in space depends upon personality; (2) how we perceive in real space determines how we perceive in inkblot or Rorschach space; (3) therefore, how we perceive in Rorschach space is a reflection of our personality.

Three decades of Rorschach studies have failed to present convincing proof or disproof of these three hypotheses because these hypotheses are essentially untestable. We still do not know too much about the determinants of real space perception, nor do we know the determinants of perception in Rorschach space. Hence, the possibility of determining the second hypothesis is beyond us. We do not have any basic methods for evaluating personality independently of

the Rorschach except perhaps the interview method, and consequently we cannot test the validity of either the first or the third hypothesis. Because of our ignorance, our attempts at classifying Rorschach responses into meaningful perceptual scores are doomed to failure. That is why so many experimental studies with the Rorschach have come a cropper. But what about clinical studies?

For a long time I found it difficult to explain why the gods smiled on the clinician's efforts and frowned on the experimentalist's. One day, I laid aside the perceptual scoring and began to look at the Rorschach protocol as another type of interview and made a content analysis of the responses the way a clinical interview is analyzed. The scales for making this content analysis have since been incorporated in a mimeographed volume. The results were astounding. These content analysis scales proved to be related to other ways of assessing personality. I found soon that I wasn't alone in this venture. Amya Sen in Burt's laboratory and Sandler, also in England, Elizur in this country, and also Watkins *et alii* similarly discovered that content analysis paid off and many Rorschachers began to desert their inkblots and take up with Thematic Apperception Test cards because they afforded better opportunities for content analysis. In summary, the hypothesis of projective techniques is untestable and hence the perceptual model it presents, and the clinical scoring systems and the sign and syndrome methods it advocates, are not very helpful at this time. This is not because they are wrong, but because scientific knowledge of perceptual processes has not reached the point where such hypotheses can be tested.

PERSONOLOGY

Personology postulates that the uniqueness of personality can be arrived at through inner understanding rather than through external measurement. Some of its proponents have claimed that its idiographic nature

defies nomothetic invasion of its boundaries. Its methods are those of the interview, observation, and case history. Its model, if it has a model, is an intricate structure differing from house to house with which no one can become familiar unless he lives there for a sufficiently long period. In other words, it cannot be surveyed from the outside. Investigators of this method would be greatly helped if someone provided a good working model for the interview itself. Armed with such a model, methods could be devised for teasing out the underlying components of the interview and for experimentally varying them to note the effects on the evaluation of personality.

PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGY

The postulate underlying psychophysiology is that the brain has something to do with the mind, a time-honored postulate which some psychologists have tried to ignore during the past several decades. Presumably then, alterations in brain function have their concomitant alterations in the mind. The unique nature of personality could be understood if we had tools for gauging on-going brain functioning and its alterations. The dependence of perception on brain function has already been referred to. Brain and Eccles have extended this model to include all other psychological events. They postulate that all psychological behavior has a substrate of cortical or subcortical events. Thus physiological, glandular, motor, sensory, perceptual, and conceptual behavior—thoughts, wishes, aspirations, dreams, and sentiments—covary with cortical or subcortical spatio-temporal impulses of an electrochemical variety. The psychological techniques which have been found responsive to induced brain changes—induced by some type of brain insult or biochemical alteration—are, contrary to expectation, not the time-honored psychological tests now in use in our clinics. Instead, the simpler psychophysical tests of

the laboratory, which the clinicians of Binet's day rejected, are found to be much keener tools for gauging alterations in brain function. Simple motor tasks like tapping, perceptual tasks like flicker fusion, weight lifting, fluctuating figures like the Necker cube, conceptual tasks like the metonym test are readily responsible to brain changes induced by ablation, shock, fatigue, temperature, or drugs like insulin or alcohol. The effects of aging, anxiety, and stress are also more readily and more objectively tapped by these tests than by standard techniques. Many of the latter which had been thought to reflect the state of mental health of the individual failed to register alterations in well-being accompanying psychosurgery and shock therapy.

Presumably, investigations of normal brain functioning, without external intervention, ought also to be reflected in these finer psychophysical techniques. Investigations of normal personality, with psychophysiological tests by Darrow and Heath, Wenger, and Theron Van der Merwe, and more recently by the Air Force's division of psychophysiology, indicate that these tests are useful in personality evaluation. One interesting modification of these psychophysiological methods is to apply them under normal and under stress situations afforded by mild anoxia or hyperoxia drugs, temperature changes, or by some type of psychological threat. The particular method of coping with such stress may be reflected by the central nervous system in these simple tasks in a manner characteristic of the individual's personality. Such simple tasks as judging the true vertical when one's body is displaced from the vertical, Heinz Werner's sensory-tonic field theory of perception, and Gibson's figural after-effect phenomenon because of the precision with which the performance can be evaluated, may also prove to be valuable in the measurement of personality.

But each of these measures cannot be validated by *a priori* theorizing or the still unvalidated series of working hypotheses that have grown out of the projective tech-

niques. These measures will have to be related to more behavioral systems of personality evaluation or to the results of scientific content analyses of systematic interviews. Some success has already been achieved with such methods in studying the personality of chronic schizophrenics. It seems probable on the basis of preliminary investigation that chronic schizophrenics whose perceptual functioning is not as disorganized as their conceptual usually fail to recover. Since in normal development, conceptual abilities usually are maintained longer than the perceptual and deteriorate only after the perceptual have declined, it would seem that the chronic unrecoverable schizophrenics are more like normals than the chronic recoverable cases.

SUMMARY

The conception of personality as representing the unique pattern of qualities of the individual is no more than a scientific model. If it has ceased being a useful model we ought to discard it. If it is still useful in the attempt at predicting behavior, it ought to be retained. What are the conclusions of our survey regarding this question? Personality measurement has borrowed and is borrowing heavily from four disciplines: differential psychology, psychopathology, personology, and psychophysiology. The first two fields have provided methods and concepts which have been helpful in screening and actuarial prediction. But they have not proved sufficient for comprehending the unique nature of personality. The new field of psychophysiology or brain function and the older but dormant personology are now the most promising hope of personality measurement. With the objective indicators of brain function provided by simple psychophysical tests, and with the analysis of feeling and motivation provided by a scientific approach to the interview, personality is assured some exciting developments even if it never escapes from the very immediate

threat of extinction by measurement. Whether measurement will ever render the concept of the uniqueness of personality superfluous is debatable. Recent developments

in psychophysiology and in personology indicate, however, that it is still capable of stimulating further efforts. What more could one ask of any model?

PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES IN THE ASSESSMENT OF PERSONALITY IN SCHOOLS

The high hopes many of us have harbored over many years for the development of valid objective measures of personality have not materialized. Perhaps these hopes were naive; perhaps, if we had sufficient insight into the intricacies of personality, we would not expect that the dynamics of a personality could be made to unfold by a perforated stencil, or by a numerical score.

Life would be very much more pleasant for those of us who are actively engaged in the process of education and guidance of young people if simple, objective instruments of personality appraisal were available. Unfortunately, such instruments have not proven effective, and, if I may hazard a guess, are not likely to be much more effective in the foreseeable future. Other approaches have therefore had to be tried. One of the most important of these is the unstructured, or partially structured test situation loosely referred to as the projective technique. These have by no means proven to be panaceas, nor are they likely to become such, or to replace objective measurement. Experience has shown, however, that they do a great deal to enrich an evaluation program if used in conjunction with the more structured, objective methods.

Projective methods employed in the clinic are an old story to all of us, and need not be elaborated here. In spite of continued

criticism from some quarters, projective methods are now more widely used than ever. Very few psychological or psychiatric clinics do without them; seldom can a clinical psychologist obtain employment in a clinical organization without competence in the administration and interpretation of the more commonly employed projective techniques. Sometimes, one has the feeling that the trend in this direction may have gone too far. Too often does it become necessary for clinical directors or supervising psychologists to encourage recently trained psychologists to broaden the base of the test battery to include appropriate objective tests. The Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Test are as common today in this country as the Stanford Binet was fifteen or twenty years ago. Even the "objective" tests of personality are frequently used by psychologists qualitatively, so that, for practical purposes, they become projective instruments. Used in this way by properly qualified psychologists, these tests are more effective than when mechanically scored and automatically interpreted by reference to "norms." But the qualitative use of these tests cannot be entrusted to the teacher or to the generalized guidance worker; it requires clinical insight.

When schools have clinical or school psychologists available, the addition of projective or subjective approaches to the in-

[From Morris Krugman, "Projective Techniques in the Assessment of Personality in Schools," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 14 (Summer 1954): 272-276. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.]

TESTING TECHNIQUES

dividual or group objective instruments of appraisal present little difficulty. The competent psychologist, using objective instruments as a base, fills in with projective and subjective methods, but, what is even more important, uses his clinical insight and his knowledge of the dynamics of behavior and personality to arrive at an appraisal of the individual under consideration. He will utilize evidence from cumulative records, anecdotal records, rating scales, teacher ratings, social histories, medical records, interviews with parents, teachers and students, and observation of the individual in a variety of school activities to support or modify the conclusions reached from the objective and projective instruments of evaluation. All the evidence is carefully weighed by the skilled diagnostician before arriving at a personality assessment. This approach is similar to that of the skillful medical diagnostician in that body temperature, blood pressure, pulse rate, x-ray results, fluoroscopic observation, metabolic rate, and chemical analyses form the basis of the diagnosis, but do not constitute the entire diagnosis. To these the competent medical diagnostician adds the medical history, the interview, observation, and qualitative interpretation, which help place the objective findings in proper context.

Not all school systems or schools, however, have available the necessary clinical services. Even if they do not, it is possible, if competent direction or consultation is available, to profit from what we have learned about projective techniques in the clinic. Over the past five years, we believe we have made some headway in the schools of our city in translating projective methods for use by selected teachers. Even though we have a large clinical organization consisting of some 200 psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers in our schools, that staff can deal with approximately ten percent of the diagnostic and treatment needs of a school population of almost a million children. We have therefore been compelled to extend knowledge about some elements of child behavior to carefully selected teachers

and guidance workers. For the elementary schools only, twenty-five picked teachers were given intensive training in child development, dynamics of behavior and mental hygiene, and some orientation in what is involved in clinic studies, particularly in selected projective methods. Each teacher spends a day each week in one of five designated schools, so that the twenty-five teachers have weekly contact with 125 different elementary schools, continuing for one or two years in the same schools, later moving to a similar group of schools.

They, in turn, demonstrate the use of simplified projective techniques to the teachers of the schools in which they operate. Their objective is not to make diagnoses, but to enlighten teachers about methods of observing children so that better understanding of children and better teacher-child relationships may result. Thus far, concentration has been on the kindergarten through fourth grade levels, where, we find, the most effective preventive work may be done. Among the techniques used are the sociogram; the sociodrama and role playing; the picture story; drawing, painting, and "finger" painting; sentence completion; block building; play; and a variety of games. Considerable attention is also given to the use of the interview with parents and children, to the use of anecdotal records, and to constructive uses of cumulative records. We find that all of this pays dividends in several directions. Competent teachers can become fairly skillful in understanding children. No question of diagnosis is involved, and they know it. In fact, the more aware teachers become of the meaning of children's behavior, the more do they request clinical assistance for extreme deviates and for children with subtle personality disturbances. We find that they tend to discount temporary misbehavior, and to treat classroom infractions more casually and understandingly. We discourage the use of clinical terms and diagnostic categories and encourage description of behavior and looking behind symptomatic behavior. We find, also, that an im-

portant by-product is that many of these teachers seek more intensive training in dynamic psychology.

Although of some years' duration, this experiment is still evolving, and may be quite different several years hence. There are of course, many problems. Some teachers become too enthusiastic about their newly acquired knowledge, and have to be curtailed somewhat, but most do not attempt to go beyond the limits of their skills. Another problem is the increased referral of children to clinical personnel who cannot accept more referrals. Still another problem is the resentment on the part of some clinical workers of increased knowledge and understanding of behavior by teachers, but we have found this to be most often true of the less adequate and less secure worker who requires some education on the dissemination of mental hygiene principles and practices.

To return, in closing, to the subject under discussion, we find that an integrated pro-

gram of school evaluation must include a wide variety of objective measures as a base, but that an evalution program that rests with that is decidedly incomplete. Two types of projective and subjective methods must be added to achieve an integrated program—those employed by technically trained personnel, and those that can be used by teachers and guidance workers who are supervised by technical personnel or have such personnel available for consultation. Among the most important outcomes of such a program are the improved powers of observation of children gained by teachers, the better understanding of children's behavior by teachers, and the improved teacher-child relationships that result. The objective of such a program is not particularly the discovery of the deviate, but rather the determination of individual differences in all children. And, after all the verbiage is discounted, the determination of individual differences is the purpose of any program of evaluation in schools.

• VI •

Nontesting Appraisal Techniques

14. OBSERVATION

15. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

16. SOCIOOMETRY

17. THE CUMULATIVE RECORD

In the introduction to Part Two, appraisal techniques were designated as "testing" or "nontesting." Chapter V presented the "testing" techniques, and this chapter considers the "nontesting" techniques.

"Nontesting" appraisal techniques are many and varied. Since the literature reports new ones periodically, some categorization of them is necessary. Froehlich and Darley in their *Studying Students*¹ list the categories of (1) observational techniques, (2) self-reports, and (3) sociometric appraisal. An article will be presented for each of these categories.

Observational techniques include behavior descriptions or anecdotal reports, time sampling, role playing, rating scales, and check lists. Bernard Fisher, a psychologist, suggests ways for teachers to improve their behavior descriptions and anecdotal reports in his article in Section 14.

Self-report techniques include the student record form or questionnaire, the fact-finding interview, the autobiography, and the diary. The autobiography has been selected to represent this category and two readings on the

¹ C. P. Froehlich and John Darley, *Studying Students* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1952).

subject are presented in Section 15. C. R. Baird discusses the autobiography in its general application and J. W. M. Rothney and P. J. Danielson discuss the specific problem as to whether or not the autobiography should be structured.

Sociometric devices include the sociogram and the guess-who technique. This book details the sociogram in the article by M. M. Ohlsen in Section 16.

The cumulative record, the depository for the data collected by the various appraisal techniques, also receives attention in Section 17.



14. OBSERVATION

"The teachers are the eyes of the counselor." Most of the decisions and inferences made by teachers originate from observing behavior, and counselors rely on teachers for these observations and reports on counselee's behavior. Unfortunately, however, most of these observations are unplanned, quasi-accidental, and unanalyzed. Teachers activate and control group activities, and in preventing or adjusting conflicts they have little time to observe the responses of individuals. They are most sensitive to those individuals who interfere with group activities.

If other individuals, particularly counselors and, of course, future teachers, are to profit from observation, the information must be recorded. Obviously, unless observations are written up, they have but limited value, that being to the observer only. Only from written records is it possible to make the longitudinal appraisal which can yield so much in the study of the dynamics of an individual's behavior.

Because teachers' reports on their observations of individuals are subject to many inaccuracies—inaccuracies which may distort the attitudes of future teachers and counselors—counselors find it necessary to aid teachers in the recording technique. The selected reading by Bernard Fisher, who as a psychologist has read many such reports, offers some suggestions to help teachers record what they observe.

A PSYCHOLOGIST'S EVALUATION OF TEACHERS' REPORTS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT

More and more it has become apparent that there is a need to improve the reliability of teachers' reports. Often the report written about a child acts as the sole liaison between his school life and his home. And of equal importance, these reports serve as an introduction to whomever the child shall subsequently encounter during his entire scholastic career. Because of the permanent and important nature of these reports, the writer feels that an evaluation of the present procedures employed is desirable.

To begin with, these reports about children are dependent on the subjective opinions of teachers who for the most part have received little or no training in this area. Inasmuch as the effectiveness of the records are dependent upon the accuracy of the reporting, it is felt that it might be profitable to examine this aspect of the problem.

ILL EFFECTS OF INACCURATE REPORTS

Unquestionably records are less useful for their inaccuracies, but even more important is the fact that they can actually be dangerous for the child's future adjustment. We are aware that an early report on a child can create a reputation to which his future teachers become sensitive. This kind of pre-judgment influences the teacher's attitude toward the child which may in turn be responsible for perpetuating the poor adjustment.

Psychological investigation has pointed

out a second danger. As in posthypnotic suggestion, children tend to act out the roles which are prepared for them by the significant adults in their lives. The teacher being a person of great prestige in the child's life, it is not impossible for him to implant certain characteristics which the child is obliged to act out. So if Johnny is considered a "toughie" and is treated accordingly, he may permanently incorporate this mode of behavior into his total make-up. These ill effects plus others, point up the necessity of improving the accuracy of reporting.

BASIS FOR JUDGMENTS

Most teachers judge a child on the basis of their own emotional acceptance or rejection of him as a person. As reported by the American Council on Education, four main factors account for most of the recorded statements concerning the pupils. They are as follows:

- 1) The student's success or failure in mastering content and skills
- 2) The problems the teacher meets in controlling the child's behavior in order that it conform with the teacher's and the school's conception of good and bad
- 3) The standing of the child's family in the community and its relation to the teacher's own social status
- 4) The attractiveness or repulsiveness of the child in terms of the teacher's own needs and individual background

In using these factors to evaluate behavior,

[From Bernard Fisher, "A Psychologist's Evaluation of Teachers' Reports, and Suggestions for Their Improvement," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 38 (March 1952): 175-179. Reprinted by permission of *Educational Administration and Supervision*.]

the reports describe the reactions of the persons making the entries more than they describe the child involved. It is important to note that this is the common and accepted pattern.

CONTENT OF REPORTS

Not only are the teachers' judgments inaccurately recorded, but also the kind of things reported are of dubious value. In one of the earlier studies, teachers and clinicians were asked to rate the seriousness of various kinds of behavior. There was almost a total lack of agreement in the two sets of ratings. The clinicians listed unsocialness, suspiciousness, unhappiness, resentfulness, and the like at being very important from the standpoint of adjustment. These, however, were not considered as serious by the teachers who placed practices of heterosexual activity, masturbation, and toilet talk high on their list.

Some of the more recent studies corroborate this finding. In one such study it was indicated that a lack of tidiness or resistance to teacher authority were mentioned as problems, whereas extreme shyness or withdrawal, which the clinicians regarded as most serious, were not mentioned at all. In another study it was indicated that the teacher preferred submissive and complaint attitudes and regarded as most serious those behaviors which were frustrating for him or which were counter to his moral standards. (In all fairness to the teacher, it should be noted that the difference in opinion may be due to the fact that teachers and clinicians are looking at the child from different points of view. The teacher is concerned with classroom management, while the clinician's focus is on the adequacy of personal adjustment.)

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

The following suggestions are in no way offered as the panacea, but rather as a partial list which may help to pave the way.

As a beginning, perhaps it would be beneficial from the standpoint of improving teacher-pupil relationships as well as reports, if teachers were trained, at least in part, to encompass the clinician's attitudes and values in observing and reporting on children.

Secondly, one of the essential rules of writing must be observed. Wherever judgments are presented, they must be substantiated by anecdotes, detailed descriptions of actual incidents, and/or a list of reasons to support the original contention. Using this as a basis, the reporting teacher will have an opportunity to clarify his own thinking about the pupil and by using this objective method, he will be giving future teachers a more accurate and honest picture of the child.

Thirdly, the Standardized Personality Inventories and the Problem Check Lists are additional instruments which can be utilized as a possible aid to understanding. Many of the reasons for classroom behavior may become apparent when the individual responses are analyzed.

In order to report honestly about a pupil, it is essential that the teacher learn what is motivating the pupil's actions. Therefore a fourth suggestion for improving understanding, and thereby reporting, is a home visit. The physical conditions, sibling relationships, and parental harmony among other things play an important role in the classroom adjustment of the child. Another way is to allow the child to project his inner feelings through the medium of art, story telling, dramatic play, composition writing, and other creative experiences which may reveal a world of information to the observant teacher. In one school with which the writer is connected, a teacher had her children draw pictures of their fears. On another occasion they drew pictures of their fathers, revealing much information in regard to their parental relationships. Often teachers are amazed at the abundance of information which is available to them right in their own classroom activities.

CASE PRESENTATION METHOD

In an attempt to incorporate some of these ideas, the writer initiated a program in one school whereby the case presentation method as it is utilized in hospitals, clinics, and other institutions, was adopted. This case presentation method has a three-fold purpose: (1) To gather information from a variety of sources rather than just the one teacher. This allows for a more complete picture and a better understanding of the child under consideration. (2) It acts as a learning situation in which all the participants become aware of the complexities which may have caused the problems. (3) The possible methods of dealing with these problems are jointly determined, thereby relieving the one teacher of the sole responsibility as to the child's welfare, which in the case of a seriously disturbed child can be a real burden to the conscientious teacher.

The details employed in using this pro-

cedure at the school is as follows: A child was selected who had been referred to the psychologist as a behavior problem. Each teacher who was involved was assigned a specific duty for the conference. One teacher reported on the child's home conditions; his classroom teacher reported on his classroom behavior; his school history, from the time of entrance to the present, was described; the school nurse presented his medical history, and the psychologist reported his findings. At the conclusion the available information was summarized and the faculty joined in open discussion which culminated in the proposal and then adoption of a plan of action.

It is felt that this method helped every one who came in contact with the child to see the many-sided picture which is responsible for his present behavior. It is hoped that this learning experience will carry over into the teacher's future observations of all her children.



15. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Autobiographies have been written by students in many schools for many years. Occasionally, they were written in response to an assignment in English or Social Science. Their value as a guidance appraisal technique has been recognized and utilized by many counselors.

The use of the autobiography in counseling is justified since for the counselor to grasp the full scope of the counselee's problem, he must view it as nearly as possible in the way it appears to the counselee. That is, the counselor attempts to achieve an internal frame of reference. If the counselor wishes to discover why an individual behaves as he does in certain situations, he must apprise himself of the counselee's concept of self. The autobiography can be a very effective way of attaining this internal frame of reference. The autobiography also provides vital longitudinal data.

The following two readings elaborate on the autobiography. Clyde Baird defends its use from the primary grades through college by presenting examples of successful experiences at these levels. He also discusses some of the disadvantages and criticisms of autobiographies.

In the second selection, J. W. M. Rothney and Paul J. Danielson deal with the question of how best to obtain autobiographies and the relative merits of the structured and unstructured autobiography.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The autobiography has been used for many different purposes and objectives. One needs only to read Beers' *A Mind That Found Itself* or a Dostoyevsky novel to see how useful autobiographical material can be in understanding the personality of the writer. We can see its relationship to the Catholic confessional and to Freudian psychoanalysis. However, consideration of it here concerns only an examination of how it has been used successfully in the classroom and in the counselor's office or in related situations, and the contribution that it makes in the understanding of the student's personality.

FACTS AND REACTIONS

This kind of autobiography is, of course, a means of supplying facts about the student's background. But it is more important than a mere collection of facts. It provides a method of obtaining his reaction to these facts. In the narration of his family history, his past experiences, his present outlook on life, his interests, and his ambitions, the student gives clues to his interpretation of his environment and gives a reaction and an evaluation that only he can reveal.

The autobiography has been used successfully at all grade levels in the school. G. D.

Stevens, who used it with second and third grade children, searched for a technique that would give a teacher information about a child in order to facilitate his learning. In an article in *Elementary English*, April, 1947, Stevens tells of deciding on a combination of the controlled diary, the autobiography, and the scrapbook features as well as various collecting hobbies. The presentation was built around the usual activities of children both inside and outside the classroom. This involved cutting, coloring, pasting, drawing, collecting, reading, and writing.

Based on case-study principles, the procedure consisted of a skeleton outline that Stevens arranged so that the child filled in blanks with details that were unique to himself. When filled in, the outline was a continuous story about the child.

"The technique is intended to have appeal to the egocentric nature of the child," says Stevens. "He will be motivated to write his life story since that is a satisfying psychological experience. He is highly motivated to participate since it is based on activities that are familiar and interesting to him. The assistance from parents, or other older persons, and his teacher, makes it a cooperative venture that lends itself to dynamic and effective participation."

[From Clyde Ray Baird, "The Autobiography," *Education Digest* (digested from *The Educational Leader* of October 1, 1953), 19 (March 1954): 39-43. Reprinted by permission of the *Education Digest*.]

DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS

Gordon W. Allport, writing on the use of personal documents in psychological science, has noted that until the age of 13 or after the child records information in external terms primarily. As a result he has stated that the autobiographies of children have little value. Stevens and Ralph C. Preston, author of another article on children's autobiographies (*Elementary English Review*, November, 1946), do not share this point of view. Both of them have found that this technique can be used very successfully with elementary school children. Elementary school teachers who may have wondered if the autobiographical technique could be used with younger children will find the experimentation rewarding and challenging. While it is recognized that it will not prove successful in all instances, it can be used with grade school children to obtain better insight into their personalities by seeing their reactions to their environment.

Ruth Crouse reported a plan for using the autobiographical technique in sophomore English class in an article in the *English Journal* in May, 1944. If the students desire a certain grade, a required amount of work has to be done on the autobiography. For an *A* grade, eight chapters averaging 700 words each are required. The students are encouraged to make attractive covers and to include clippings and pictures as well as certificates and awards. In order that they might integrate the material better and present it in a more interesting style, it is recommended that they read such stories as Clarence Day's *Life with Father*. Crouse followed the procedure of checking each chapter after it was written before approving it for copying into the final draft. Thus attention was called to errors in grammar as they were made. The writing was done in the classroom over a month or six weeks period. She found the project one which could give most gratifying results. It was the highlight of sophomore English. Crouse commented on gains made

in a "practical application of skills in writing," and then added:

There seemed to be an increased understanding by the individual of his own personality; students have developed a sense of appreciation of the abilities of fellow-students; furthermore, the faculty members who are in charge of guidance groups found that reading the stories of students in their groups brought about a clearer understanding through knowledge of background.

Many worthwhile outcomes also have been reported by Ward S. Miller in sophomore English classes (*English Journal*, June, 1940). Miller suggests areas to the students as ideas to use in making an outline, but at the same time warns against a too slavish following of such outlines since this may result in a mechanical rather than a spontaneous recounting. By ignoring the outline as such and stressing good paragraphs "the actual organization is likely to be alphabetical and psychological instead of logical, and consequently more spontaneous, more literary, more creative, and better proportioned."

Percival M. Symonds and Claude E. Jackson, in preparing their study, *Measurement of the Personality Adjustments of High-School Pupils*, were convinced that the autobiography would be useful in studying adolescent personality. They desired to allay suspicion that the autobiographies might be used in studying personality adjustment, and in order to do so they asked the English teachers to make these a major assignment in classes. Suggestions were distributed to each pupil, in which an autobiography was defined as "a story of one's life." The pupils were urged to write something more than a mere "recital of dates, places, and events." The topics listed began with "Home Background," and ranged through "Childhood Experiences," "School Experiences," "Personal Interests and Hobbies," to "Future Plans," each with interest-arousing subtopics

designed to bring forth personality-revealing narration.

Symonds and Jackson found that the student tends to reveal in his outlook on life the attitudes toward his early years, his parents, and his brothers and sisters, as well as his longings and ambitions. Their study points out that the autobiography possesses much supporting evidence to material which already had been obtained from their interviews and has much supplementary value. They believe that there are advantages in the autobiography over the interview in that the latter frequently gives only information that is elicited by questions, whereas the autobiography is an integrated story that the student takes pride in developing. This suggests to the writer that perhaps the greatest value of the autobiography is that it provides active participation by the student in understanding himself. The counselor should weigh this factor as he reviews the various techniques that he uses in helping students.

COLLEGE STUDENTS

Thus far we have been speaking of the use of the autobiography in elementary and secondary schools. But it has been used rather effectively with college-age students also. And Symonds has pointed out in additional experimentations with the autobiography that it has revealed the needs of teachers. During a course in mental hygiene in a summer-school session he asked 50 teachers to write autobiographies. It will be interesting to teachers to learn that, according to Symonds, the need for achievement occurred in 42 of the 50 autobiographies. The dynamic factors associated with need for achievement included sibling rivalry which may be an important stimulus for achievement. In many cases it may be spurred on by a sense of inferiority and inadequacy. Strivings for achievement seem to be a substitute for attractiveness or prominence along other lines. There is evidence, too, that lack of achievement in school is

responded to with shame and guilt. Teaching can represent an escape from a situation and entrance into another where one can win respect and one's place.

INFERIORITY FEELINGS

Symonds also found that the need for affiliation was prominent in 38 of these autobiographies. In 38 autobiographies, a *feeling of inferiority* was found in "(1) timidity with people; (2) sensitivity in general; (3) fear of failure; (4) sensitivity about appearance." It was Symonds' belief that feelings of inferiority were caused by a number of things, including lack of affection, sibling rivalry, and the receiving of ridicule and criticism.

These few details concerning Symonds' study of the autobiographies of a few teachers have been given because the study gives rise to many clues and hypotheses "as to the possible dynamic factors which have been responsible for the development of these needs . . . the part that these needs played in causing these individuals to select teaching as a profession, and the way in which teaching contrives to satisfy those needs. It can be seen from these comments on Symonds' experiment with the autobiographies of teachers that there are many areas that can be explored before we understand fully the many possibilities of this technique.

It was the study of Symonds that aroused this writer's curiosity about the clinical uses of the autobiography. Although there apparently have not been too many articles written about this approach, a report by Arthur W. Combs in the *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, January, 1947, will prove of interest to readers who also wish to explore the problem further. Gordon W. Allport, in *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science*, has reminded us that we must examine personal documents in the light of the motives which guided their development. He believes this to be true whether one is considering the autobiography, the questionnaire, verbatim recordings of dreams and interviews, diaries, or letters. He has made

a study of such motives in considerable detail.

CATEGORIZING WRITERS

Persons who use the autobiographical technique will find that autobiographies tend to fall into certain types of categories. One writer declares that some appear to have been written by "chroniclers," some by "self-defenders," others by "confessants," and still others by "self-analysts." Still another writer would add "self-praisers" to the list. He thinks they have more expansive egotism than the "self-defenders."

In summary, it might be said that the autobiography has many advantages to recommend its use to the classroom teacher or the counselor or to scientific investigation. It can be administered to many students at one time. Actually, not too much time need be consumed in the writing, and it can be re-read and added to at frequent intervals. Contacts may be limited to motivation and instruction rather than direct supervision, depending on one's purpose. In one instance it can be very comprehensive and cover many facets of the student's life. On the other hand, it may be topical in its approach and be short and specialized in content. It might follow a standardized form and not be entirely in the author's own words.

"The most outstanding purpose of the autobiography," says Wendell Johnson, ". . . is that of defining situation-as-perceived, of describing situations from the point of view of the individual reacting to them. The autobiographical technique, when efficiently used, can hardly be surpassed in this con-

nnection." Allport agrees emphatically with Johnson; he states that "the great merit of an autobiography is that it gives the 'inside half' of the life; the half that is hidden from the objective-minded scientists." While this half may be somewhat distorted intentionally or unintentionally by the writer, at least it gives information that can be obtained in no other way. Surely after reading a set of autobiographical accounts one cannot help being, as Miller says, "a better teacher, more human, more sympathetic, and more aware of pupils as individuals."

Occasionally there are individuals who object to the self-analysis that often accompanies the writing of an autobiography, but this is the very thing that many teachers and counselors believe to be of primary value to the student. Miller believes that such criticism concerning introspection is unwarranted, since one must have experience to write effectively and since objective narration is the goal in autobiography.

There is a need for a different type of material or at least additional material that supplements the interview and the testing program. Those counselors who believe that the aim of the counseling program is to help the individual student know his abilities and his limitations and to plan according to the limits of his environment, welcome a technique that gives the student a greater part in making choices and reaching decisions. The autobiography should help the student organize and interpret his experiences in such a way as to see their personal significance and to know himself better. As a result, he should be better able to solve his problems, present and future.

THE STUDENT AUTOBIOGRAPHY: STRUCTURED OR UNSTRUCTURED?

Increasing attention is being given the student autobiography in the recent literature on the tools and techniques of counseling. In general, there is agreement among experienced workers in the field of guidance and counseling that although the autobiography is a subjective device, and thus has limitations, it nevertheless is a tool that has considerable merit and one that can supplement those currently in general use.

While there is general agreement as to value, there are varying opinions regarding aspects of its use, its desirable length, the time at which it is best written, as well as the manner in which it can be obtained. The research reported herein relates to the last of these items.

A wide range of forms or approaches to the autobiography have been proposed in the literature. Essentially they are variations of one of two approaches: (1) obtaining the autobiography by means of a detailed outline (structured), or (2) through a request for a freely written (unstructured) composition. It has been said that the products of these approaches may vary considerably, but whether they do, in what way they vary, and what significance the variation has for the counselor does not seem to have been established up to the present. In this study we have considered the autobiography as a device for obtaining hints or clues of student problems and have sought answers to the two following questions: (1) is there any difference between the number and types of statements of student problems elicited

through structured and unstructured forms of the autobiography? and (2) are there any specific kinds of student problems recognizable in reading the autobiographies that are peculiar to one or the other of the approaches?

METHOD

The subjects of this investigation were two groups, each composed of 78 juniors who were members of twelve sections of English in a representative Wisconsin high school. The two groups were compared on factors of intelligence, as measured twice by the Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, age, and rank in class. No statistically significant differences between these factors were noted.

The subjects were asked to write autobiographies as an assignment in English, and two weeks were given to complete the work. One group, consisting of six sections of English, was asked to write an unstructured autobiography with no suggestions as to content being made beyond that of writing about "What kind of person am I?", "How did I get that way?", and "What do I hope to become?" This group, as with the second, was told that they would not have to read their autobiographies in class nor would the teacher discuss them.

The members of the second group composed of students in six sections of English were asked to write structured autobiographies. This group was given a detailed, two-page outline of questions to be used

[From J. W. M. Rothney and Paul J. Danielson, "The Student Autobiography: Structured or Unstructured?" *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 33 (Sept. 1954): 30-33. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

as a guide in writing. The outline was designed to elicit reactions to various major problem areas. A sample from the area of "Family Relationships" follows:

The Past—How did I get that way?

1. What things in your family history have influenced you? Consider such things as family interests, economic status, family friends, relatives, occupations of parents, brothers, sisters, attitudes of parents, religious connections, discipline, special family events, places you have lived, etc.

Upon completion of the assignment, the autobiographies were read by the investigator and by three other experienced counselors or counselors-in-training. A frame of reference for reading was provided to standardize the approach as far as possible. The readers were asked to note from context or direct statement what seemed to them to be clues to possible student problems, and to indicate the material in the autobiography which prompted them to make the observation. With the exception of the writer, the readers were not aware that the autobiographies they were reading were obtained by different methods.

The problems noted in each autobiography were taken from the readers' reports and placed on cards, along with a notation as to the form of autobiography from which it was elicited. Any problem that one or more readers thought was suggested in the autobiography was included in the tabulation. A total of 701 suggested or tentative problems was noted in 156 autobiographies of both forms. The cards containing the problems were separated first by major problem area—"Financial," "Social-Emotional-Personal," "Vocational," "Personal Appearance-Physical-Health," "Education," and "Family Relationship" without regard to the form of the autobiography from which they were elicited. In the same manner, the cards in each major area were further separated in terms of spe-

cific problems noted within each major area. A final tabulation of specific problems was made in terms of the form from which specific problems were elicited. Comparisons were then made of the differences in problems recognized in each form of the autobiography in terms of specific problems and in terms of total problems found in each major problem area.

RESULTS

The range of specific problems noted by readers falling within major areas was greater than anticipated. The very small numbers involved in the samples obtained precluded, therefore, any useful statistical treatment of differences between percentages of specific problems noted in each form. Analysis by inspection suggested, however, that, with the possible exception of specific problems falling under the heading of "Family Relationship" (e.g., "Excessive work at home" "Strict family discipline"), neither the structured nor unstructured approach appeared to be superior in bringing out cues or hints about the individual that would be helpful to the counselor.

When specific problems were disregarded and comparisons between the structured and unstructured forms were made in terms of all problems found in the major problem areas, some differences emerged. The results of such comparisons are presented in Table 1.

Inspection of this table reveals that for all practical purposes there is no difference between the two forms of autobiography used in this study in terms of the percentages of problems elicited from four of the major problem areas. In the cases of the "Education" and "Family Relationship" problems elicited from the autobiographies, however, it is evident that greater numbers of problems appear in the structured and unstructured forms, respectively. A comparison made between the two forms of the autobiography in terms of *total* problems elicited

TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF FREQUENCIES OF PROBLEMS
APPEARING IN 78 STRUCTURED AND 78 UNSTRU-
TURED AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Problem Areas	Structured		Un- structured	
	Number of Prob- lems	%	Number of Prob- lems	%
Finance	22	6	18	6
Personal appearance-				
physical-health	33	8	20	7
Family relationships	35	9	48	16
Education	73	18	39	13
Vocation	87	21	62	21
Social-emotional-				
personal	152	38	112	37
Total problems elicited	402		299	

from each revealed that the structured form produced a significantly greater number of problems.

DISCUSSION

In working with an individual student, the counselor needs to be aware of problems as they arise and as they might affect the counselee in meeting his current and future needs. One of the tasks, in this regard, is to bring these problems "out in the open" so that they can be approached more readily by both the counselee and the counselor. In identifying and isolating problems, the counselor relies on data obtained from many sources and through the use of many techniques, one of which is the autobiography. The problems suggested to the counselor, as he reads the autobiographies written by his counselees, must be regarded as tentative hypotheses to be substantiated or discarded in the light of other data. This, of course, is true of the interpretation of data obtained from any other single source.

With the student autobiography, as with

other techniques, there is the problem of choice among different approaches. In the case of the technique discussed here, the question was essentially, "Will students react differently when asked to respond to one of two methods of writing an autobiography?" Within the framework of the approach described herein, the answer would appear to be a qualified "yes." The irreversibility of the individual precludes the possibility of trying two approaches with the same individual under identical conditions, hence we have the experimental limitations of the matched-groups design.

That the results indicate that the structured form of the autobiography suggests more tentative problems than the unstructured probably is not surprising because the outline provides the student autobiographer with many leads and suggestions. In any event, if the counselor's interest is essentially "volume," without particular emphasis on specific problems or problem areas, he will risk overlooking problems to a lesser degree if he uses the structured form. Similarly, if it is problems in the area of "Education" that the counselor wishes to elicit for further investigation, the structured form is likely to prove most profitable. Should the counselor desire to elicit problems concerning "Family Relationship," the unstructured form is likely to prove most profitable. This may have implications for the counselor who wishes particularly to supplement "Family" data obtained from other sources when there is a suspicion that the student is having difficulties in this area. There appears to be no particular advantage in either form in eliciting problems in the major areas of "Financial," "Social-Emotional-Personal," "Vocational," or "Personal Appearance Physical-Health." These findings, of course, are limited to the broad inclusive form of the autobiography as contrasted with the topical form which might be designed to elicit problems in a single, defined problem area such as a vocational autobiography.

16. SOCIOOMETRY

Sociometry is the measurement of the interpersonal relationships prevailing among the members of a group. Sociometric devices, such as the sociogram, attempt to discover the patterns of choice and rejection among the individuals making up the group.

Sociometric devices facilitate the appraisal of the social adjustment of the individuals within the group, the classroom management of these individuals, and screening of them for individual counseling or other remedial work in the area of social skills. The sociogram helps to identify the group's peer leaders, the group's rejectees or isolates, the group's cliques, and the group's cleavages according to race, religion, socioeconomic status, age, sex, maturation, scholastic aptitudes, and so forth.

The sociogram identifies social structure; it does not explain causation. This device presents a static picture of a dynamic situation—the social structure of a group. It should only be used when the teacher or counselor has good rapport with the group, for the responses can be faked. The user of the sociogram should realize these limitations.

Merle Ohlsen in the following reading tells how to construct a sociogram and a matrix table to help interpret the information.

HELPING TEACHERS INTERPRET SOCIOMETRIC DATA

The development of ability to live and work effectively with peers is accepted as one of the objectives of the school. Relative to this particular objective, the sociometric tests appear to be one of our most promising methods for evaluating pupil growth. Of this method Bronfenbrenner said, "One of the most ingenious devices for the study of social status and structure is the sociometric test. This technique permits the analysis of the

framework of group organization—an identification of persons dominant in the group structure, of cliques, of cleavages, and patterns of social attraction and repulsion. . . . Sociometry is the method for discovering, describing, and evaluating social status, structure, and development through measuring the extent of acceptance or rejection between individuals in groups."

But to know that the sociometric test is

[From Merle M. Ohlsen, "Helping Teachers Interpret Sociometric Data," *Journal of Teacher Education*, 2 (June 1951): 99-103. Reprinted by permission of the *Journal of Teacher Education*.]

an effective technique does not in and of itself make it a useful one for teachers' use in studying children. This paper provides classroom teachers with specific suggestions for using and interpreting sociometric test data. Professional workers in teacher education must, however, assume more responsibility for providing the teacher with techniques for studying his children. Hence this paper has been written for this audience. Since workers in teacher education are also doing research in which sociometric tests might very well be used, some attention has been given to statistical analysis of these data. Special consideration is given to certain implications for the use of matrix algebra.

What has now been said makes it fairly obvious that sociometric methods may be used to study human behavior. The following guides can help teachers get more valuable information from their use of this method: (1) The teacher must state with care the choices to be presented to the pupil; (2) in preparing the items for this test, he must make sure the words used have the same meaning for his pupils as these words have for him; (3) the sociometric tests should be administered under testing conditions in which pupils cannot see each other's responses; (4) the teacher must recognize that pupils consider these choices confidential information; (5) the pupils should understand the purpose of sociometric testing, and (6) not only should pupils understand the consequences of the choices, but it is also recommended that teachers take cognizance of pupils' choices in meeting group needs.

Even if the teacher does follow these guides, he still must know how to interpret the test results if he is to achieve better understanding of his pupils through the use of the technique. Much attention has been given to the use of the sociogram as a method of analyzing these data. It has helped teachers to see the relationships between these choices. The pamphlet, *How to Construct a Sociogram*, is recommended to

teachers who want to use the sociogram in interpreting sociometric test data.¹

However, it is difficult to use the sociogram in interpreting complicated relationships either between individuals in a large group or between several items in a longer test. Moreover, the technique does not make the data readily available for statistical treatment.

To contrast the use of the sociogram with a matrix table, the writer has selected the results of a sociometric test which was used by an eighth grade teacher with 28 pupils. This matrix formulation has been used with a group which included as many as 92 students and with a test which included 14 items. A medium-size class was selected here to make the sociogram more easily understood. The responses for all five items will be shown in the matrix table while only the response to question number two (b) is shown in the sociogram. Students were instructed to limit their choices to pupils in the room. Actually, everyone was present the day the test was administered. In this instance, the following questions were used: (a) What pupil of the same sex would you invite to accompany you on a hike? (b) Whom would you want to help you with your school work? (c) What two pupils would you not like to sit next to you? (d) What pupil of the opposite sex would you invite to a party? (e) What two pupils would you like to sit next to you?

After the teacher has administered a sociometric test, he needs only to take a piece of graph paper and write the pupils' names along the left-hand vertical axis, and across the top axis, then record the choices on the graph paper. To simplify the problems involved in publication, the above test results were adapted to the form you have just seen. All of a given pupil's choices are recorded in the row across from his name; for example, the girl, F8, chose F7 on question

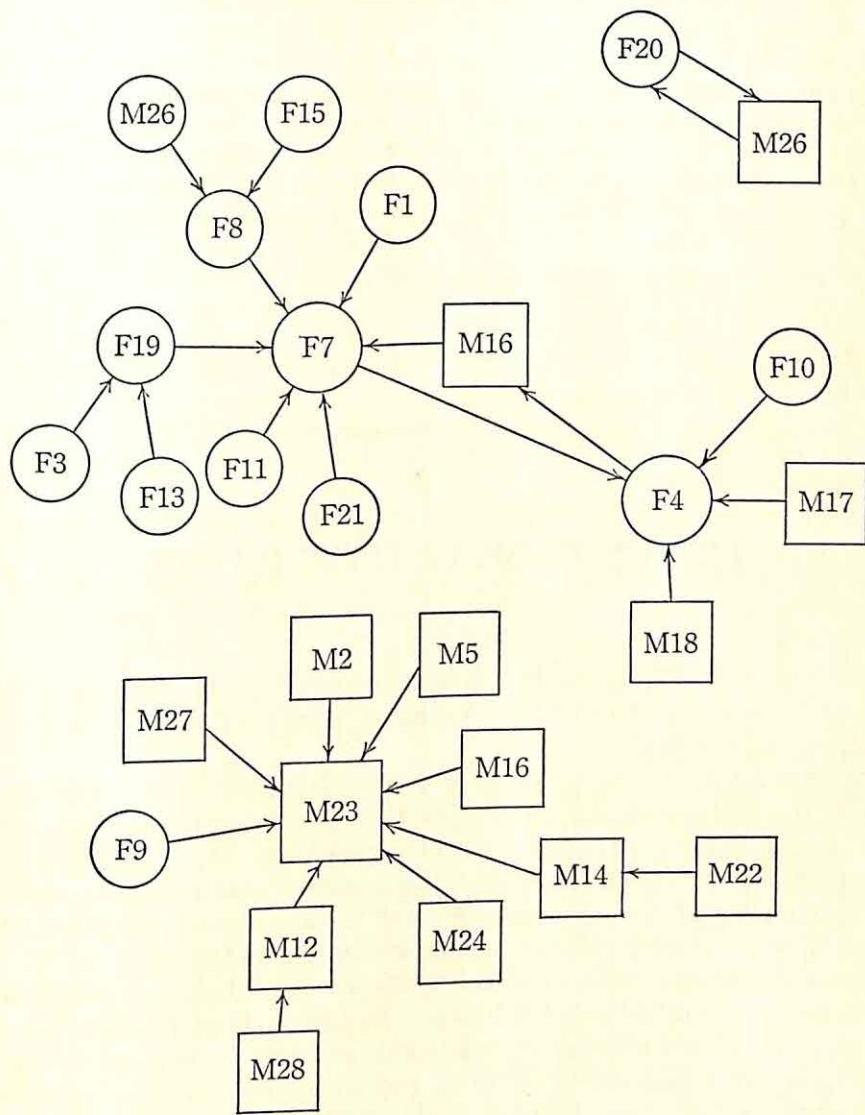
¹ Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation. *How to Construct a Sociogram*. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1948.

MATRIX TABLE

THE PATTERN OF CHOICES ON FIVE QUESTIONS

Choosers	F 1	M 2	F 3	F 4	M 5	F 6	F 7	F 8	F 9	F 10	F 11	M 12	F 13	M 14	Chosen		M 17	M 18	F 19	F 20	F 21	M 22	M 23	M 24	F 25	M 26	M 27	M 28	
															F 15	M 16	M 17	M 18	F 19	F 20	F 21	M 22	M 23	M 24	F 25	M 26	M 27	M 28	
1F		de				c	b	c				a		e															
2M	de	a										c	c										c				c		
3F	a											cd						b	e						c	c			
4F	a							c							b	e								dc	c				
5M		ae				d						c			e		c				b								
6F			e	d	c	b						a			e					c									
7F		c	b			c	c					a				c					d					c			
8F		(ae)		c	b							de																	
9F			d			c			c						e				b					c					
10F			b			e				c	a		e		a						d		c						
11F				b						a	e			c						d	c	c							
12M	d	ea		e								c					b				b	e							
13F	ae	c		c								c	d			b				a	b								
14M			e	c	de					c																			
15F	a			e	b							d			e	c					ab						c		
16M	c	c	c	c	de																								
17M	e		bd	ae		c																					c		
18M			bd	c	e		c	e											a										
19F	c	e			b					a			d		c												c		
20F				c		ae	c							d						c	b								
21F	(ae)		de	b											c													c	
22M	c		e				d			(abe)																		c	
23M	d	ae				c			be								c												
24M	e		c								d		a			c	b				c						c		
25F	a	c													be	c					de								
26M				c	(bde)		c	e											a										
27M	d						e								c		c	(abc)											
28M	e			d			(bc)										a		c	c	c								

THE SOCIOGRAM



"b," F6 and M28 on question "c," F3 and M12 on question "e," F3 on question "a," and M12 on question "d." On the other hand, if one wants to know who chose a pupil, all he has to do is to find the column identified with the pupil's name and then move down that column. If the same pupil (F8) is used as an example once more, it can be seen that she was chosen by F1, F7, and M17 on question "c"; by F15 and M26 on question "b"; by M26 on question "e"; and by M26 on question "d." One can get a quick picture of choice patterns on any

single question by counting the number of times that letter occurs in the columns. It is obvious that the relationship among choice patterns can also be seen readily.

The matrix formulation also has the advantage that it can be adapted to any size group and any number of questions by simply using either a larger piece of graph paper for a larger number of pupils or by using graph paper with larger cells where many responses may fall within one cell. Of course, one can do both if both factors apply.



17. THE CUMULATIVE RECORD

The cumulative record or folder is the depository for data collected throughout the years about an individual. As such it is an invaluable source for the appraisal of an individual.

A complete cumulative folder contains information about the individual's (1) home background, (2) school history, (3) standardized test results, (4) health history, (5) out-of-school experiences, (6) personality, and (7) plans for the future. The complete cumulative record contains many of the appraisal techniques, or the results of their use—standardized tests, anecdotal reports, autobiographies, sociometric devices, and the like.

If the cumulative folder contains significant data about the individual—data that represent his typical behavior, data that accurately sample this behavior—and if these data are kept up to date and with the individual throughout his school experience, much good can accrue the counselor and, more important, the individual himself.

To increase the potential values of the cumulative record to the student, the students of Hayward (California) High School keep their own records. One of the principles of individual appraisal is to help the individual gain an understanding of self. When we add to this the need to curtail the clerical duties of the counselor, the student-kept cumulative record takes on additional merit. Clifford Froehlich, who helped initiate this system, explains it in the following reading.

STUDENTS KEEP THEIR CUMULATIVE RECORDS

What can be done to help students accept more responsibility for themselves? How can a guidance program be made more effective in helping young people acquire the knowledges, skills, and attitudes which they need for competency in self direction? These were some of the questions Superintendent L. R. Ramm posed several years ago before the counselors in the Hayward, California, High School District.

The counselors considered these questions in many informal meetings and agreed that they would like to organize a summer workshop to devise plans for improving the guidance program. Superintendent Ramm enthusiastically granted their request and with the approval of the board of education arranged to provide modest stipends for the workshop members. The writer was invited to serve as the consultant. This report will describe the experimental plan devised by the workshop group. The project began two years ago and is designed to continue for two years more. Hence, this must take the form of a progress report.

The Hayward High School District is growing rapidly. At present it has three high schools, two of them new. The total enrollment for the District is about 6500; approximately 1900 students are in the ninth grade.

TIED TO SOCIAL STUDIES

The guidance program is closely integrated with social studies. Each counselor teaches social studies four periods a day, and has two periods for counseling. He is the counselor

for the students enrolled in his social studies classes. Estimating 30 to 35 students in each class, this means that he counsels between 120 and 140 students. The work of the counselors in each school is coordinated by a head counselor.

All students are required to take four years of social studies. Unless he requests a transfer, which is evaluated in conferences between counselors and parents involved, each student has the same counselor throughout his high school career. The social studies curriculum includes the usual history and government content and is enriched with many guidance units.

The workshop group at the outset decided to plan a guidance program within the established social studies framework. It also decided that the experiment would be confined to the group of students entering the ninth grade in the fall of 1954. Although the integrated social studies-guidance organizational pattern was retained, the group decided to delineate special objectives for this pilot study:

1. The student know himself, his mental and physical abilities, his emotional and social background.
2. The student understand the sources of help available to him—counselor and counseling program, nurse, deans, teachers; athletic, social, and student body activities; library, and so forth.
3. The student accept responsibility for his own life and develop plans on the basis of realistic understanding of himself, the world of work, and the educational opportunities available to him.

[From Clifford P. Froehlich, "Students Keep Their Cumulative Records," *The School Executive*, 76 (Oct. 1956): 54-56. Reprinted by permission of *The School Executive*.]

4. The student make reliable and accurate estimates of his personality traits.

With these objectives in mind the pilot study was focused on helping students use their learning in making decisions for themselves. It was recognized that students need some help in organizing information about themselves. The use of workbooks or individual notebooks was considered, but rejected in favor of a student-kept cumulative record. The various parts of the record were devised by subcommittees of the workshop.

STUDENTS EVALUATE

Preliminary editions of the record were evaluated by groups of students who had been enrolled in the ninth grade the previous year. It should be kept in mind that the record is regarded as a vehicle for focusing the student's attention on information about himself. It is neither considered as an official record nor as an end in itself. This is important when one thinks about the variations in the abilities of students to supply, record and interpret the data called for by the record.

The first semester of ninth grade social studies is planned as an orientation to self and school. The several parts of the cumulative record are introduced throughout the semester by a series of units which will be described here. In addition to the record forms and tests, the students make use of the textbook, *Building Your Life*, by Landis and Landis.

TOWARD SELF-UNDERSTANDING

The first unit is designed to stress the importance of understanding oneself. The Science Research Associates *Youth Inventory* is administered as a part of this unit; the students score it themselves and draw their own profiles. The unit leads naturally into the next one on family understanding. Here the first record form, "My Personal Record," is introduced. During the unit work stu-

dents are encouraged to consider the significance of the information they recorded in addition to considering their relationships with members of their family.

Following these, two units dealing with one's personality and friends are presented. In the course of these units, "My Social Record" is introduced. Here the student sets goals for himself in those areas where he wishes to improve. Near the end of the year, he indicates his progress and sets goals for the following year. This section illustrates in graphic manner one of the basic objectives of the program—getting the student to accept responsibility for himself.

TEST ACADEMIC SKILL

The next unit is concerned with academic ability. It should be noted that in addition to this record of marks, an official record is maintained by clerical workers in the school office. Taking, scoring, and drawing a profile for the SRA *Primary Mental Abilities Test* is a part of the unit. Emphasis here is on making best use of one's abilities, hence, training in study skills occupies an important place.

A unit on social skills and dating comes next, followed by one on mental and physical health. In this unit, "My Health Record" is introduced. This record is a radical departure from most health forms in that it is designed primarily to record actions which the student has taken to keep himself healthy. On this form the student also keeps a running record of his illnesses. After each school absence he records the nature of the illness. Counselors report that many students who are absent excessively because of "cold" or "stomach upset" or "headache" or similar standard excuses are caused to think about the real cause of the absence. It becomes embarrassing for them to enter the same excuse repeatedly.

A unit on community government is then introduced as a part of the regular social studies curriculum.

VOCATIONAL STUDY

The last unit in the first semester deals with vocations. Students take, score, and make profiles for the *Kuder Preference Record—Vocational*. They also complete the record on "My Educational and Vocational Picture." This record is designed to encourage the student to think seriously about past high school plans and to relate these plans to a tentative high school program.

SETS OWN GOALS

The student also enters the subjects he is taking and sets a goal for himself by marking his expected grade. At the end of the term he fills in the graph to indicate his actual grade. Here is another example of the basic theme of the program: to get the student to set responsible goals for himself. As the student progresses through school, he acquires a bar graph of his achievement in the several areas indicated. Such a graph should help him identify strengths and weaknesses. Such knowledge should aid him in planning.

POPULAR WITH STUDENTS

An evaluation of the pilot study was made at the end of the first year. Students were overwhelmingly favorable in reporting their experience with the pilot study. Teacher-counselors in the pilot study endorsed it. Other teachers in the school were generally apathetic or not informed about the project—apparently the pilot study did not exert much influence on the faculty during its first year. Parental reaction was unusually favorable, and was expressed frequently in oral comments and in excellent cooperation with the counselors.

Even though the informal evaluation was favorable, the data collected did not mitigate the need for formal evaluation with appropriate statistical controls. The first of a

planned series of studies has been completed. Data are presently being collected for two additional ones.

As an evaluation instrument a guidance achievement test patterned after the Kefauver-Hand Guidance Tests was developed. The test was designed to measure students' guidance information in the areas of educational outlook, health, recreation, citizenship, and vocational planning. These areas were studied formally in ninth grade social studies prior to the pilot study. Formal study of them was abandoned in favor of hoped-for concomitant learnings growing out of the revised curriculum of the pilot study.

The test was administered to all entering ninth grade students in September, 1954. These students also took the test again in May, 1955. A comparison of scores produced unmistakable evidence that learning took place during the year these students were enrolled in the pilot study.

COMPARABLE ACHIEVEMENT

Because it was not possible to develop a control group within the ninth grade pilot study group, the ninth graders of the previous year were tested at the beginning of the tenth grade. Hence the achievement test was an end-of-course measurement for them. Their mean scores were compared with the end-of-course mean scores of the pilot study group; there was no significant difference in any of the test areas. This is an important finding when it is remembered that curriculums for the two years were quite different. In contrast with the formal study of guidance information as in the previous year, the pilot study group devoted a major portion of its activities to study about self, centered around the student-kept cumulative records. Yet its scores on the formal achievement test were comparable to those completing the previous formal curriculum. It appears that concomitant learnings were achieved.

MAY SOLVE DROP-OUT PROBLEM

Another study is also under way. From literature, the characteristics and attitudes of drop-outs were identified. These were cast into an inventory which each student completed at the beginning of the pilot

study. Each student leaving the school is investigated to discover if he is a bona fide drop-out (a person who could have remained in school if he wished).

The writer hopes that this interim report of the experiment with student-kept cumulative records will encourage other schools to examine their record system.

• VII •

Synthesis of Individual Appraisal Data

18. CASE STUDIES

CHAPTERS V and VI presented techniques for gathering information about the individual. These techniques included "testing" and "nontesting" instruments. Once the data collected by these instruments have been placed in the cumulative record, its collation and synthesis should begin. Herein lies much of the inadequacy of present-day guidance appraisal services. Counselors fail most often in this aspect of appraisal, for too often they collect data, deposit them in the cumulative folder, and let them remain there unconsulted.

A *case study* is a synthesis of the data about an individual. It includes an intensive analysis and interpretation of the appraisal data focused upon the adjustment problems of the individual.

A *case conference* is frequently a part of the case study. The case conference usually involves members of the school staff who have had contact with the subject. During this conference the members of the staff present data and points of view about the subject. The accumulation of data from many sources and the discussion and interpretation of these data by many minds contribute to the successful synthesis of individual appraisal data.

This chapter contains three examples of case studies.

18. CASE STUDIES

Paul, the subject of the first case study which follows, is eighteen years of age and an eleventh-grade student. He is dissatisfied with his school marks. The second case study presented is that of Charles, a nine-year-old in fourth grade, who evidences lack of maturity. Discussion questions follow the presentation of data on both subjects.

The final case study is not of an individual, but rather of all the members of the class of a fifth-grade teacher. After collecting extensive data on the individual members of her class, she synthesized them to get a composite picture of her class. Barry Jensen relates how she did this.

The reader might note the great variety of appraisal techniques used in collecting the data about the subjects in the case studies, and how these data were synthesized into a more meaningful whole. Such a synthesis of appraisal data is an invaluable aid to the counselor.

THE CASE OF PAUL

- I. *Identifying Data:* Paul is 18 years of age and an 11th grade student. He has come to see you, a teacher-counselor, because he says that he is dissatisfied with his marks. He states that perhaps you can help him by suggesting some study techniques. A full-time, trained counselor is available in the school.
- II. *Home and Family Background:* Paul and his family moved into Silver City two years ago. His father is a traveling salesman for a manufacturing concern. Neither of his parents completed high school. He has an older brother (age 21) who is attending the state university and majoring in engineering.

Paul's parents were separated for a short time since moving into Silver City. There is neighborhood gossip that another separation is imminent. They are living together at the present time. Paul and his mother attend events in the community together. The father rarely accompanies them. According to the mother, the older brother is on the college honor roll and will be graduating from college in June.

- III. *Previous School Experience and Present School Records:* Paul attended elementary and junior high school in a small town. He entered his present

school in the 10th grade. The students in the school he is now attending have high average scholastic ability. His class had an average IQ of 112 in a group intelligence test administered in the 10th grade.

Records from the previous schools reveal marks of about a "B" average.

English-B, Mathematics-B, Social Studies-B, Industrial Arts-A.

Records also indicate that Paul was a "model" student while in the former school. While in Silver City High School he has been somewhat of a disciplinary problem. He has been reprimanded for smoking on the school grounds and taking part in unauthorized hazing of freshmen students. His marks in the Silver City High School have been as follows:

GRADE 10	GRADE 11
English-C	English-C
Geometry-C	U.S. History-B
Biology-C	Geometry-C
World History-C	Science-C

Paul has been a member of the History and Travel Club and is now in the Speech Club. He has served on numerous school committees. His teachers report that he has not always fulfilled his duties on these committees. Teachers also report that Paul has a tendency to stutter when reciting before the class.

There are a number of anecdotal records in his personal folder. They contain such statements as: "Paul is extremely lazy in preparing his lessons," "Paul is always starting fights," "Paul is always seeking attention," "Paul recently had a fight with Jim, a classmate of his." In talking with Paul, he states that he and some other boys skipped school a short time ago and wrote their own excuses.

IV. Test Data:

	I.Q.
Kuhlmann-Anderson Intelligence Test—5th grade	101
Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability—9th grade (Higher form)	115
Iowa Tests of Educational Development—10th grade (Silver City High School Norms)	Percentile
Understanding of Basic Social Concepts	72
Background in Natural Science	41
Correctness in Writing	28
Quantitative Thinking	56
Ability to interpret Reading Materials in the Social Studies	58
Ability to interpret Reading Materials in the Natural Sciences	53
Ability to interpret Literary Materials	40
General Vocabulary	46
Use of Sources of Information	18

Kuder Preference Record—11th grade. (National Norms)

	Percentile
Mechanical	88
Persuasive	93
Musical	50
Scientific	89
Literary	65
Clerical	10
Computational	16
Artistic	44
Social Service	31

Bell Adjustment Inventory—11th grade

Home Adjustment—average

Health Adjustment—good

Social Adjustment—aggressive

Emotional Adjustment—unsatisfactory

V. *Health and Social:* Paul is 5'11" tall and weighs 160 lbs. He has been absent from school for what his mother describes as sinus headaches. Glasses

were worn while in the earlier grades, but not since attending Silver City High School. Paul's mother also reports that lately Paul has been crying himself to sleep while sucking his thumb. Since shortly after the beginning of this semester Paul has been going "steady" with a girl of non-Protestant faith. Paul's mother has not approved since Paul is Protestant.

Paul has stated that he used to attend church and take an active part in church activities. Lately, Paul's church attendance has been infrequent

VI. *Goals:* Paul has indicated that he desires to study mechanical engineering. In the 9th grade Paul had prepared a career book in which he studied baseball as a career. Also, in the 10th grade a lawyer spoke to his class and Paul changed his goal from baseball to law. Since his brother has been in college Paul has changed his choice to engineering.

QUESTIONS

The following questions require application of information contained in the case study of Paul. Read all questions carefully. Refer back to the case study if necessary. There is only *one* best answer for each question.

1. As a teacher-counselor, your first job when beginning to counsel with Paul would be to:
 - A. administer tests to determine the area of difficulty
 - B. establish a good working relationship
 - C. determine if there is a need for a conference
 - D. have Paul write out his problem for clarification
 - E. call Paul's parents so they will be aware of proceedings
2. As a teacher-counselor, to whom Paul has come for help, one of your first steps would be to:
 - A. send Paul to the school counselor as he has had more training in counseling with students

- B. give Paul an assignment so that you may study his work habits
- C. conduct your study from the present as every student deserves a fresh start
- D. administer a standardized achievement test to be sure his grades are justified
- E. examine his past records for indications of difficulty
3. When Paul first came to your office you should have:
 - A. assumed that achieving better grades is the main problem
 - B. taken steps to obtain help in remedial reading since low reading ability is a common cause of poor grades
 - C. been alert for any evidence of problems other than grades
 - D. called the parents for a conference or made a home visit
 - E. asked the school counselor to come in for a joint conference
4. In view of the apparent family conflict, it would probably be best for you to:
 - A. talk to the parents and try to keep Paul from being the victim of a broken home
 - B. try to arrange for Paul to live with his father as he needs the association of another man
 - C. persuade the mother to move from the city with Paul so as to leave unpleasant association behind
 - D. take no direct action in attempting a reconciliation of the parents
 - E. talk to the father and try to get him to change his ways
5. When Paul told you that he skipped school and signed his own excuse you should have:
 - A. notified the principal or superintendent so that they may take administrative action
 - B. called the other boys to be certain they were guilty
 - C. kept the confidence
 - D. notified the parents
 - E. told Paul that he must admit this to all concerned

6. You have evidence on Paul's intelligence to indicate that:
 - A. there is probably no serious discrepancy between his subject-matter achievement and intelligence level
 - B. Paul is above the average intelligence in his class
 - C. Paul's intelligence is improving
 - D. Paul should be doing better work in school
 - E. Paul has been receiving unjustified grades
7. The difference in the two IQ scores:
 - A. may indicate that Paul's intelligence is increasing
 - B. is of no significance
 - C. is evidence that when administering a second intelligence test it should be by the same author as the first
 - D. indicates that the Otis was better administered than the Kuhlmann-Anderson
 - E. may be an indication that Paul's reading ability has improved
8. Considering the information available on Paul's intelligence it would be advisable to:
 - A. administer another intelligence test to more clearly define his intelligence
 - B. administer another intelligence test and then average all three scores
 - C. ignore the information as the discrepancy in scores makes the tests valueless
 - D. ignore the first test and consider only the more recent one
 - E. administer another intelligence test to see if his reading ability is still improving
9. The information on the achievement tests indicate that:
 - A. Paul should be set back at least one grade so that he may catch up with the other students
 - B. Paul needs remedial work in some areas
 - C. Paul's school grades have been too high
 - D. either the intelligence test scores or the achievement test scores are incorrect
10. A study of the Kuder scores indicates that:
 - A. 10% of a group are more interested in clerical duties than Paul
 - B. Paul answered 65% of the questions concerning literary interests
 - C. Paul is more interested in mechanical duties than 12% of his fellow students
 - D. Paul is in the second quartile in artistic interests
 - E. Paul has more aptitude for social service work than clerical work
11. The results of the Kuder Preference Record also indicate that:
 - A. Paul has some aptitude for mechanical work
 - B. Paul wouldn't be very interested in being an office clerk
 - C. Paul is twice as interested in mechanical work as he is in artistic work
 - D. Paul would do well in debate
 - E. Paul would probably make a good salesman
12. Considering the information available in the Bell Adjustment Inventory, you should:
 - A. inform the parents of the results so that they will realize there is a serious problem
 - B. obtain the scores for the areas tested and average his total adjustment
 - C. examine the individual items so as to further identify the problem areas
 - D. establish the validity of Paul's responses
 - E. go over the scores with Paul
13. The available evidence indicates that Paul at present is probably:
 - A. an underachiever
 - B. an overachiever
 - C. achieving up to his level of ability
 - D. working only in areas of his interests
 - E. achieving only in the easier subjects
14. In using the test data available, it would be best to:
 - A. have the parents look over the scores

SYNTHESIS OF INDIVIDUAL APPRAISAL DATA

- so that any interpretation will be their responsibility
- B. explain to Paul that he is above average intelligence for his group
- C. have the parents see Paul's high scores first
- D. present your interpretation of the data to Paul and his parents
- E. have the parents look over Paul's responses on the Bell Adjustment Inventory so that they can see where they have failed as parents
15. The total information indicates that:
- A. Paul is in need of remedial teaching in all areas of his school work
- B. remedial work is unnecessary
- C. Paul is a poor reader for his group
- D. Paul's grades are too low for his ability
- E. Paul needs remedial work in certain areas
16. As a teacher dealing with Paul's stuttering in the classroom it would be best for you to:
- A. have Paul recite only when he desired
- B. insist that Paul recite often so that he will get over his nervousness
- C. explain to Paul that there is no reason for him to stutter as he should not be nervous
- D. treat his stuttering by having him repeat sentences
- E. have Paul's mother treat his difficulty in the more natural home surroundings
17. There is evidence that Paul:
- A. is abnormally unstable in the selection of a vocation
- B. would fit into many different occupations
- C. is following a normal pattern of job selection for adolescents
- D. should listen to speakers representing many occupations
- E. needs someone else to diagnose his capabilities and decide for him his best choice of occupations
18. A reliability coefficient of .92 is reported for the Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability; this means that:
- A. 92% of the items test mental ability
- B. 92% of those taking the test receive valid scores
- C. that we can predict the success in intellectual pursuits of 92% of the people who take the test
- D. there is evidence that the test measures consistently
- E. the test is a good measure of intelligence
19. Considering the "thumb sucking and crying himself to sleep," you have evidence that:
- A. Paul is trying to get attention from his father
- B. Paul's intelligence is lower than the intelligence tests indicate
- C. Paul's early childhood was probably his unhappiest period
- D. Paul is insecure
- E. Paul is adjusting through the mechanism of pseudo-feeble-mindedness
20. Paul's "model" behavior in the former school can most likely be attributed to:
- A. higher status among the students at that school
- B. his better grades and the resulting less frustration
- C. a curriculum that met his needs better
- D. different standards of behavior in the two schools
- E. less emotional stress at that period
21. Probably the least serious bit of evidence we have is:
- A. his aggressive behavior in class
- B. the "thumb sucking and crying himself to sleep"
- C. the lower grades he has received in Silver City High School
- D. his stuttering in class
- E. his skipping school
22. Of the following, the most serious bit of evidence is probably:
- A. the hazing of the freshmen
- B. the lower grades in Silver City High School

- C. his aggressive behavior in class
 D. absence from school because of repeated headaches
 E. his "thumb sucking and crying himself to sleep"
23. In the instance when Paul and Jim were fighting, it would have been best to:
 A. stop the fight and talk to them later
 B. send them down to the gymnasium to put on the gloves
 C. send them to the principal as he should handle serious discipline problems
 D. insist that Paul apologize for starting the fight
 E. settle the issue immediately
24. An acceptable procedure in overcoming Paul's refusal to recite in class would be to:
 A. impress upon Paul's parents the importance of reciting in class
 B. ask some of Paul's friends to show approval whenever Paul does recite
 C. read off the names of those who have not recited
 D. build his confidence by recognition of work he has done
 E. make an agreement with Paul to ask him only easy questions
25. Considering the type of anecdotal records that is available, you, as a teacher-counselor, should:
 A. consider the anecdotal records valuable since the other teachers have determined the basis for some of Paul's main problems
 B. present Paul with these statements so as to hear his side of the story
 C. discount the value of the anecdotal records
 D. consider them as your best objective evidence
 E. present the parents with the records
26. If Paul's parents were consulted, it would be most desirable to say:
 A. "We find that student's problems in school frequently stem from the home"
- B. "I can help Paul with your cooperation"
 C. "I would like to settle this since Paul is holding back the rest of the class"
 D. "I am interested in helping Paul"
 E. "Our tests indicate that Paul needs help"
27. Which of the following is the safest prognosis of Paul's academic success in college?
 A. it is quite likely that Paul would not succeed
 B. success would depend to a considerable degree upon emotional adjustment
 C. going to college would motivate him to do better work
 D. he would probably be successful, but not in engineering
 E. success would depend upon the extent of his social and extra-curricular activities
28. As a teacher-counselor which of the following would be best for you to consider as a part of a program to help Paul?
 A. help Paul to improve his grades to his previous level of accomplishment
 B. attempt to reconcile the parental differences
 C. reduce the apparent emotional tension
 D. try to get Paul's brother to take an active interest in him
 E. help Paul to recognize and accept the incompatibility of his parents

ANSWERS

1. B	2. E	3. C	4. D	5. C	6. A	7. E
8. A	9. B	10. D	11. B	12. C	13. C	14. D
15. E	16. A	17. C	18. D	19. D	20. E	21. C
22. E	23. A	24. D	25. C	26. D	27. B	28. C

THE CASE OF CHARLES

I. Identifying Data: Charles is nine years of age and is in the fourth grade. He entered school at the age of six. His teacher contemplates retaining Charles in the fourth grade for another year because of his lack of maturity for his age group. According to the teacher, this lack of maturity is manifested by low grades, poor social adjustment, negativism in class, and infantile speech in reading and oral reports.

II. Physical Characteristics and Health: Charles is within the normal limits of weight, height, and muscular build for his age. He has normal visual and auditory acuity and no apparent physical defects. He has had three rather severe head injuries while he was playing. The first occurred at the age of two; the second, at the age of six; and the third, during the past summer. All three required medical attention, but there was no apparent permanent damage. He has frequent colds and appears to have a chronic sinus condition. His attendance at school is regular.

III. Home and Family Background: The father, forty years of age, is a large, heavy-set man. He is in good health with the exception of a chronic sinus condition which requires periodical medical treatment during the winter months. While in the tenth grade, he quit school to go to work in a garage. Most of his time is devoted to his business. He has no hobby and very few leisure-time activities. He owns his own house which is located in a middle class residential section.

The mother, thirty-two years of age, is a short woman, tending toward stoutness. She is a high school graduate, having majored in commercial subjects. Upon completion of high school, she attended business college for six months. She worked as a stenographer until the time of her marriage. Her mannerisms and speech are those of a very tense and

anxious individual. She characterizes herself as being a nervous person.

Charles is the older of two siblings. He has a sister two years younger. There is a considerable amount of rivalry between them when they are together. The mother considers this to be one of her major problems. The home training and the disciplining of the children are carried out primarily by the mother.

Charles talks a great deal about his father, and he often spends vacation days with his father at his place of work. At other times Charles plays with the younger neighborhood children. He takes the initiative in starting games with them. His temper flares frequently in play, but it soon subsides. After school he spends most of his time playing outdoors. He is frequently late for his evening meal. During inclement weather he frets because he cannot be outside. When indoors, he avidly watches television. Other than comic books, he seldom reads at home. He rarely brings homework from school. Charles has a bicycle and the usual amount of play equipment. He joined the Cub Scouts, but he attends the meetings infrequently.

IV. School Background and Activities: Charles's progress during the first three grades has been low average for his class. In these grades his best subject was arithmetic. His poorest subjects were reading and language. His work habits, social habits, and health habits were considered satisfactory during these grades. His average progress to date this year is as follows:

Arithmetic	Satisfactory
Art	Satisfactory
Language	Unsatisfactory
Music	Satisfactory
Reading	Unsatisfactory

Social Studies	Unsatisfactory
Spelling	Unsatisfactory
Writing	Satisfactory
Health Habits	Satisfactory
Social Habits	Unsatisfactory
Work Habits	Unsatisfactory

C. Spelling	20
D. Language	25
E. Arithmetic Reasoning	40
F. Arithmetic Computation	55

VI. *Goals:* Charles has had a stated interest to be a race car driver that has been consistent since the first grade. He would also like to be a jet pilot in the Air Force.

Charles has difficulty in articulation. An omission of sounds is especially noted when he is talking or reading orally. The third grade teacher noted that he made incorrectly the following sounds: th, l, and l blends, and r, s, z, sh, j, k, and g. She believes, however, he made progress in articulation during the third grade. Upon examination the family physician found no organic defects of the nose, palate, throat, or ears.

Charles is seldom prepared for oral reports. He never recites voluntarily in class. When he is assigned to a committee, he usually stays in the background. Seldom are his suggestions accepted by others of the committee. There is no sociometric data on Charles, but the teacher considers him to be an isolate in the class. She states that he seems to get along better with younger children. This is evidenced by the fact that at school he seeks the younger neighborhood children on the playground.

V. Test Data: (Based on National Norms)

1. Kuhlmann-Anderson Intelligence Test:
 May—first grade 101 IQ
 May—third grade 97 IQ

2. Stanford Achievement Test—January
 —second grade:

	Percentile
A. Paragraph Meaning	35
B. Word Meaning	50
C. Spelling	20
D. Arithmetic Reasoning	50
E. Arithmetic Computation	85

3. Stanford Achievement Test—January
 —fourth grade:

	Percentile
A. Paragraph Meaning	30
B. Word Meaning	45

QUESTIONS

The following questions require application of information obtained in the case study of Charles: Refer back to the case study if necessary:

- As Charles's teacher your first job in attempting to help him would be to:
 - administer a personality inventory
 - conduct a case conference
 - talk with Charles's parents
 - observe his behavior closely
- In studying Charles's social relationships, a desirable first step would be to:
 - interview Charles
 - talk with his parents
 - obtain sociometric test data
 - administer a personality inventory
- In view of the fact that the mother does most of the disciplining and training of the youngsters, it would be best for you as a teacher to:
 - talk to the father
 - talk to the mother
 - forget the home situation and do the best you can for Charles in the school environment
 - secure the help of a family service agency to work with the parents
- In attempting to help Charles, you may assume that the main problem is to:
 - achieve better grades
 - correct the reading deficiency
 - correct the speech difficulty
 - help Charles resolve his social-emotional problems
- Evidence regarding Charles's scholastic aptitude indicates that:
 - there is probably no serious discrep-

SYNTHESIS OF INDIVIDUAL APPRAISAL DATA

- ancy between his school progress and his ability to do schoolwork
- B. his ability to do schoolwork is less than it used to be
 - C. he has been receiving unfair progress reports
 - D. he has the potential for better school-work
6. Considering the available information, it would be reasonable for you to:
- A. take into account the general ability level of other pupils in the class
 - B. conclude that Charles is not studying as much now as he did in former grades
 - C. conclude that his teacher is giving him lower grades than he deserves because of his poor classroom behavior
 - D. conclude that the present teacher has higher standards of progress than his former teachers
7. The information on the achievement tests indicates that:
- A. Charles should be set back one grade so that he can catch up with other pupils
 - B. Charles needs remedial work in some areas
 - C. either the scholastic aptitude tests or the achievement tests are incorrect
 - D. Charles is weak in all areas
8. Grades and test scores indicate Charles is probably:
- A. an overachiever
 - B. an underachiever
 - C. working up to his level of ability
 - D. working only in areas of his interest
9. In the absence of a speech correctionist, it would be better for you as teacher to:
- A. have Charles recite only when he desired
 - B. insist that Charles recite often so that he will learn to feel at ease in front of others
 - C. explain to Charles that there is no reason why he should talk baby talk, since there is no organic defect
- D. have Charles privately practice sounds with you
10. A good procedure to get Charles to participate more in class group activities would be to:
- A. place him in a position where he must carry out group responsibilities
 - B. use the social pressure of the class to get him to participate
 - C. build up his confidence by recognition of work he has done
 - D. praise him in front of the class even though he has done little to deserve such praise
11. If Charles is passed to the fifth grade, your prognosis is that:
- A. he will be able to do the work satisfactorily
 - B. a considerable amount of individual attention must be given to him by an understanding teacher in order for him to do the work
 - C. he will fail the fifth grade
 - D. he will do satisfactory work if the problems connected with his home life are corrected
12. If Charles is retarded, your prognosis is:
- A. he will probably improve in articulation
 - B. he will probably have better social adjustment
 - C. there will probably be increased rivalry between his sister and him
 - D. he will probably have increased feelings of insecurity
13. Charles's three head injuries:
- A. indicate that he is very clumsy
 - B. have apparently had no effect on him
 - C. have affected his speech
 - D. have resulted from emotional instability
14. Charles's chronic sinus condition:
- A. is a means of father identification
 - B. has resulted from excessive outdoor play
 - C. should be given medical attention
 - D. has had no apparent effect on his health and should be disregarded

15. Charles plays with children younger than himself because:
- he feels inadequate with children his own age
 - there is sibling rivalry
 - he is trained and disciplined at home primarily by his mother
 - his father does not encourage him to play with older children
16. Charles's stated goals are:
- indicative of mechanical ability
 - insignificant at this early age
 - unusual for this early age
 - good areas for motivating and drawing out Charles in the classroom
17. Charles's home and family relationships are:
- impossible to improve
 - normal
 - the primary cause of Charles's problem
 - a contributing cause of Charles's problem
18. If Charles repeats the fourth grade:
- his poor work habits and reading difficulties will improve
 - he will be happier in his new environment
 - his chances of dropping out of school before completion will be greater
 - it probably will not matter much one way or the other
19. One of the first remedial measures that you as Charles's teacher would take to help him is in the area of:
- family relationships
 - classroom relationships
 - speech difficulty
 - improvement in fundamentals
20. Charles's father is a man who:
- manifests his interest in Charles by allowing him to spend time in his working establishment
 - unfortunately is engaged in an occupation in which he cannot devote time to Charles
 - leaves the rearing of the children to his wife since he feels she is better equipped to do this because of her superior education
21. The fact that Charles's father spends most of his time at work has:
- no bearing on Charles's problems
 - little bearing on Charles's problems
 - significant bearing on Charles's problems
 - great bearing on Charles's problems
22. The fact that Charles's mother is a nervous, tense person has:
- no bearing on Charles's problems
 - little bearing on Charles's problems
 - significant bearing on Charles's problems
 - great bearing on Charles's problems
23. Charles's negativism in class is probably due to:
- the fact he cannot talk as well as other children
 - his poor achievement record
 - the fact he is never prepared since he never studies at home
 - his inability to get along with children his own age
24. The results of the Stanford Achievement Test in the fourth grade:
- would be more meaningful had it been given in May
 - should have included local norms also
 - should have been recorded in terms of grade placement norms
 - should have been recorded in terms of education age norms
25. The lower IQ on the second Kuhlmann-Anderson Test means that:
- the scores are within the limits of probable error
 - Charles is becoming less intelligent
 - Charles was not properly motivated the second time he took it
 - the test was not scored correctly one of the times it was taken
26. Charles's goals indicate:

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- A. the lack of needed excitement in his present life
 B. that he subconsciously wants to be killed
 C. his need to do something spectacular to compensate for feelings of inferiority
 D. perfectly normal goals for a child his age
27. The most probable source of family maladjustment would seem to be:
 A. rejection by the mother
 B. sibling rivalry
 C. a maladjusted mother
 D. rejection by the father
28. A comparison of standardized test scores would indicate:
 A. below average general ability
 B. below average reading ability
 C. an emotional problem related to reading skills
 D. low arithmetic ability
29. Achievement in arithmetic shows:
- A. possibility of latent verbal ability
 B. average numerical ability
 C. unusual numerical ability
 D. better teaching in this subject
30. As Charles's teacher you probably should first:
 A. call a case conference to secure remedial suggestions
 B. have Charles's mother send him to a brain specialist
 C. have him referred to a speech correctionist
 D. have him referred to a children's psychiatric clinic

ANSWERS

- 6 — A 12 — D 18 — C 24 — B 30 — A
 5 — D 11 — B 17 — D 23 — D 29 — B
 4 — D 10 — C 16 — D 22 — C 28 — B
 3 — B 9 — D 15 — A 21 — C 27 — C
 2 — C 8 — B 14 — C 20 — D 26 — D
 1 — D 7 — B 13 — B 19 — B 25 — A

AGRARIA

Mrs. Blank, a teacher of several years' experience, had taken a job in a different district from the one in which she had worked for the past three seasons. She had decided that this year she would make a real effort to complete an intensive study of her fifth-grade during the first month. She wanted information regarding: 1) the children's feelings about themselves; 2) the children's fears, interests and aspirations; 3) the children as seen by an observer (physical description, social relationships, etc.); 4) her own feelings and impressions regarding the class members; and 5) the characteristics of the class as a whole.

After seeing her classroom, Mrs. Blank stopped in the Superintendent's office. (In previous years she had learned that the Superintendent and the Principal are veritable gold-mines of information about the community and the school.) After her talk with him she knew that Agraria was an elementary school situated about two miles from the limits of a city of several thousand persons. Agraria was the only school in the district, high school pupils being transported elsewhere. The school consisted of grades one through eight, plus kindergarten and some special classes for retarded children. The staff included nineteen certificated

[From Barry T. Jensen, "Agraria" (Unpublished manuscript). Reprinted by permission of the author.]

persons, including the Superintendent, plus custodial and service personnel.

During the previous year the enrollment averaged 440 pupils, about 135 of whom lived in a residential area on the outskirts of the city. The rest lived on farms and in small neighborhoods. The district transported all of the pupils in four buses. Each bus made two trips in the morning and evening; this meant that some of the pupils were at school for 30-45 minutes before or after school, and that the teachers alternated in extra-class duties.

The parents of the children living near the city generally found employment in shops and small manufacturing or food-processing plants or in service industries. Nearly all of the rest of the parents engaged in agricultural work. About one-third of families obtained their incomes through employment of the father or mother as agricultural laborers with incomes of less than \$3000 per year (1957) (in some cases both parents were so employed for at least part of the harvest season). Approximately a third of the families owned berry farms or orchards. Most of these families in the district had incomes of between \$5000 and \$10,000 per year. One man's income was estimated to be \$150,000 obtained from various agricultural activities such as cattle raising and fruit and truck farming. He was the largest landowner in the area and was the real leader of the community. At the time he was serving on the Board of Education, but it made little difference what elected position he held. One indication of his influence was the fact that the school officials believed that if he favored a bond issue it would pass.

As might be expected, a large portion of the school children moved frequently, sometimes several times a year. However, no children in the school came from what might be called migrant families; that is, none of the school families followed the crops, living in tents or other sub-standard housing.

On the first day of school Mrs. Blank met her class—thirteen boys and twenty-three girls. Fifteen of the children had been in

the same fourth-grade classroom the year before, ten had been in a combination fourth and fifth grade and one was repeating the fifth grade. The remaining pupils were transferring from other schools; one of these also being a repeater in the fifth grade.

After school Mrs. Blank checked the cumulative records in the office. The data are summarized in Table I and referred to later. For the first week she observed the children, noting how each responded in the classroom and on the playground. She also watched for signs such as physical defect, slowness in learning, or excessive fatigue which might indicate a need for special attention. Beginning with the second week Mrs. Blank started gathering information supplied by the children. She told them that she wanted to get well acquainted and would ask for special information from time to time.

The children wrote stories called, "About Myself." The instructions were to write what they would like the teacher to know about themselves. The essays ranged from about twenty-five words to around 200 words in length. The majority of the children mentioned their birthplaces (eight gave birthplaces outside of the state and one named Portugal). Other popular subjects included family, vacations, and school history.

On another day children read and discussed the story of Aladdin. During the discussion the teacher raised a question as to what they would choose if they could have three wishes and asked to have these written on paper for her. Some wrote more than three wishes, but here is a summary of the first three wishes of each of the pupils (the numbers in parentheses indicate how many made that particular wish).

Possessions: bicycle (19); \$1,000,000 (14); horse (13); watch (5); car (5); mansion (4); new house (2); typewriter (4); boat (3); room of my own (2); tape recorder (2); ranch (2); horse and buggy; truck; skates; calf; trains; a wish a day; motorcycle; brains; radio; hotrod; \$1,000; bedroom set; money.

Family: baby sister (3); home for mother (2); car or truck for daddy (2); baby brother; grandmother to come for Christmas; to have parents for 300 years.

For others: One person wished for \$1,000,000 for each of The March of Dimes, the Blind, and the cancer fight.

Health: for grandma; family to be well for a long time; for nobody to get sick; to be happy; to have health and happiness.

Other: to go to heaven when I die (this person wished for health and happiness and for "money").

Early in the second week the pupils indicated what they wanted to do for a living when they finished school. These fifth-grade pupils said that they wanted to enter the occupations named here (again the number indicates how many named that specific activity). The children's job titles are used.

Girls: nurse (9); secretary (3); teacher (2); work in a store (2); store salesman; sell beef; actress; baby sitter; doctor; work in a hospital; stay at home.

Boys: mechanic (3); army; air force; tractor driver; bull dozer operator; sell beef; football player; scientist; fire chief; policeman; ornithologist.

During a discussion directed to the meanings of words or phrases Mrs. Blank distributed sheets of paper on which fifteen words or phrases were dittoed. She asked the children to write what each part-sentence reminded them of. Some of these items were designed to reduce any shock of dealing with possibly emotional matters such as "I," "My parents don't," etc; one of these "neutral" items was "September." Generally, the responses were in one or two words, such as "no good" in response to a phrase about school. Eleven children mentioned "fair" at least once—the County Fair was in session at that time. To the statement "I think that school . . ." four children responded with negative statements while three said that school was good for them. (See page 136 for the statements.)

Toward the end of the second week the

children completed a "Reputation Test" which the teacher had adapted from one proposed by Tuddenham.¹ This consisted of nineteen pairs of statements describing children—the items in each pair described opposite behavior. For instance, one statement read, "They are the ones everybody likes"; another statement was "They are the ones nobody seems to care much about." The thirty-ninth item was "Who is your best friend? (You may wish to name more than one.)"

When the "Reputation Tests" were distributed the teacher said, "Here are some questions about things children do or the way they feel. After each question write the names of any boys or girls in your class who may fit it. You may name yourself." The teacher completed the "Reputation Test" at the same time as did the children. She also rated each child on five characteristics: cooperativeness, motivation, ability, acceptance by others, and self-adjustment.

Mrs. Blank now had all the information she had planned to obtain on a formal basis, for the present at least. Her next problem was to summarize the data so that it could be studied easily. First, she examined the cumulative records and prepared Table I. Information from the "Reputation Test" is also given in the last two columns of Table I. "Net Mentions" means that the positive mentions exceeded the negative mentions by so many, or vice versa. For instance, Ruth was mentioned thirty-nine times favorably and eight times negatively for thirty-one favorable net mentions. (Some teachers may disagree with Mrs. Blank on whether a mention is favorable or not. A wiggly child may be preferred to one who sits very still and quiet, for instance.)

Figure 1, the sociogram for the class, came from the answers to the last item on the "Reputation Test," asking for the best friends. Only the first three best friends named by any one child are shown.

¹ Tuddenham, Reed D., Studies in Reputation. *Psychol. Monographs*, 1952, 66.

TABLE I

CUMULATIVE RECORD DATA AND REPUTATION TEST SCORES (SEPTEMBER, 1957)

No.	Pupil Name	Age	Intelligence Test			Grade Average 1956-57 *	Reputation Test	
			Total	CTMM (1955) Lang.	Non-L Cunn. (1953)		Pintner- Cunn. (1953)	Net Mentions by: Peers Teacher
1 †	Ada	12	96	—	—	2.1	1	0
2	Babs **	—	—	—	—	—	-10	-1
3	Jo **	—	—	—	—	—	13	1
4	Will	11	—	—	—	2.3	22	3
5	Dale	11	85	—	—	3.1	36	2
6	Dick	11	110	123	98	2.7	11	4
7	May	10	91	105	83	3.0	-10	-1
8	Ruth **	—	—	—	—	—	31	4
9	Enid	10	—	—	—	3.1	19	4
10	Karen	11	—	—	—	2.2	36	-1
11	Lois	10	—	—	—	2.3	11	1
12	Ken	11	96	111	84	2.6	1	1
13	Judy	11	102	107	93	2.1	16	-2
14	Kay ****	—	—	—	—	—	20	0
15	Hal	11	78 (Wechsler: 87)	—	—	2.0	-3	1
16	Jim	11	—	—	—	2.8	-2	2
17	Joe	10	—	—	—	2.5	9	1
18 ††	June ***	11	80	75	82	2.6	15	1
19	Russ	10	—	—	—	2.8	14	0
20	Liz **	—	—	—	—	—	4	-1
21	Jane **	10	—	104	—	2.3	7	1
22	Fay **	—	—	—	—	—	-21	-2
23	Nona **	—	—	—	—	—	-23	-6
24	Pat	12	96	97	90	2.4	-2	0
25	Meg	11	98	105	89	2.6	-17	2
26	Dora	11	—	—	—	3.0	12	1
27	Ray	12	108	114	90	2.7	22	-1
28	Rory	10	—	—	—	3.0	20	0
29	Ralph	11	85	—	—	2.8	29	2
30	Mary	10	105	—	—	2.8	35	2
31	Min **	—	—	—	—	—	55	6
32	Vi	11	—	—	—	2.0	-3	0
33	Frank	11	111	111	114	3.2	18	2
34	Carol	10	99	107	—	2.3	10	0
35	Hank **	—	—	—	—	—	33	3
36	Lori	11	76	87	73	2.4	-1	3
						Total	+512	+47
							-69	-15

* Grade equivalents: 4, A; 3, B; 2, C; 1, D.

** New in school, no cumulative record for most of them.

*** Repeating grade.

**** New, and repeating grade.

† Data in record for Ada: "Poor health and hearing" (undated and unsigned).

†† Entry in record for June "immature" (undated and unsigned).

FIGURE 1

First Three Choices of Each Pupil

○ girls ▲ boys ○ indicates person who chose "everyone"

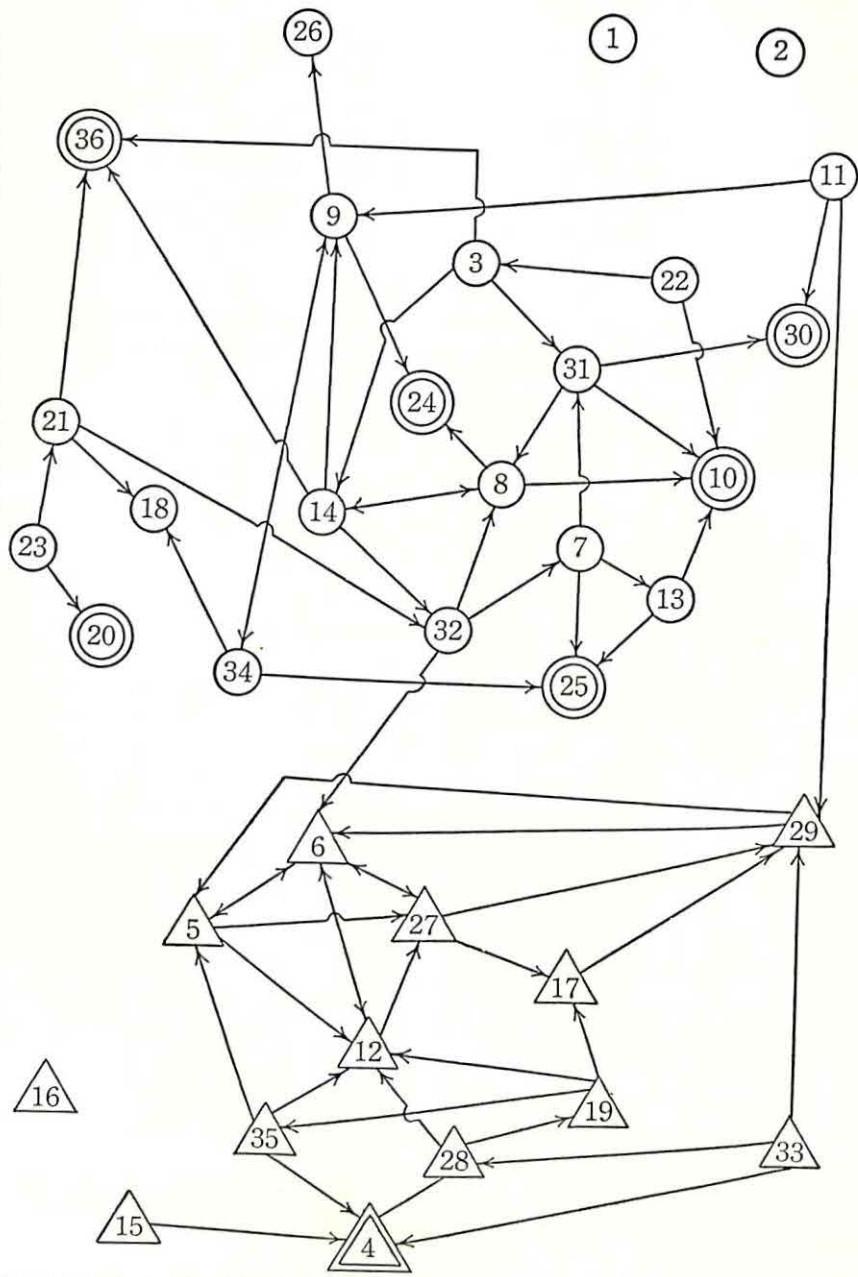


Table II indicates how Mrs. Blank rated the children on the five characteristics and on the reputation test.

Now, what did Mrs. Blank know about her class? She could expect wide variation in attitudes towards the importance of education. The relatively low IQ's suggest a rather low level of educational achievement. She also predicted a rather low level of educational and vocational aspiration although the choices made by the children in the class were fairly typical of youngsters of that age.

It appeared that pupils tended to choose as best friends those who had been in the same classroom in the previous year. Table III contains information about this point.

The children new to Agraria did not necessarily limit their friendships to other newcomers. This, and the general pattern of choices, suggested that strong cliques had not developed. Data in Table III indicate that the ten persons who had been in the mixed grade last year made more choices. This is an artificial picture in a sense; most of those who chose "Everybody" were in group 1, and thus their symbols indicate that no choices were made. It is also true that the strongest sub-group consists of people from the mixed grade: Nos. 5, 6, 12, and 27. There was no evidence from the sociogram that friendships were based upon socio-economic status and the sex-grouping in-

TABLE II

TEACHER RATINGS OF PUPILS ON EACH OF FIVE CHARACTERISTICS AND THE NUMBER OF TIMES SHE MENTIONED THEM ON THE REPUTATION TEST

Pupil No.	Cooperative-ness	Motivation	Ability	Acceptance by Others	Self-Adjustment	Reputation +	Reputation -
4	5	5	5	4	5	3	-
5	3	3	3	1	2	2	-
6	5	5	5	1	5	5	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	4	-
12	5	4	5	5	5	2	1
20	4	4	4	3	4	1	2
23	5	5	5	5	5	-	6
24	4	4	4	4	4	1	1
25	3	4	4	4	4	3	5
27	3	3	3	1	2	-	1

TABLE III

FRIENDSHIP CHOICES FOR IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP MEMBERS **

Group	Given to		Received from	
	Out-group	In-group	Out-group	In-group
1. Same school last year, single grade	8	12	18	12
2. Same school last year, mixed grades	8	11	13	11
3. Transfers *	17	8	2	8

* Includes the one person who had been in the same school but not in a class with anyone in this present class—the repeater.

** In-group means pupils who had been in the same classroom the previous year:

Group 1: Pupils No. 7, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 36;

Group 2: Pupils No. 1, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 18, 27, 32;

Group 3: Pupils No. 2, 3, 8, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31, 33, 35.

TABLE IV

GRADE AVERAGES OF SOME PUPILS IN RELATION TO TEACHER RATINGS *

Six pupils earning grades of 3.0 or more

were rated by the teacher on:	cooperativeness	3	3	1	1	2	2
	motivation	3	2	1	1	1	1
	ability	3	2	1	1	1	1

Five pupils earning grades of 2.2 or less

were rated by the teacher on:	cooperativeness	5	3	3	5	4
	motivation	4	2	3	5	5
	ability	5	3	3	5	5

* The grades had been assigned by their previous teacher; Mrs. Blank rated on the three characteristics on a scale of 5, with "1" representing the top fifth of the pupils.

dicated a fairly normal development for children of that age.

The seven children who said "Everybody" when asked about best friends were not necessarily the most friendly. In fact, some of them probably had no best friends (note pupils No. 20, 24, and 25); on the other hand, pupil No. 4 might be the kind of kid who had many friends. Mrs. Blank wondered to what extent the "laddering" function would be observed; that is, as the year passed would the less popular persons tend to chose more and more toward the center of the group. Certainly, Nona (No. 23), new in the school and unnamed as a friend had a long way to go, choosing only persons unchosen by anyone else.

Ken, No. 12, seemed to be the leader of a group. Perhaps Mrs. Blank would have to recognize his leadership and work through him because he may indirectly lead all. However, he had a net of only one favorable mention on the Reputation Test. Mrs. Blank made a note to check the kinds he did receive. She noted her own ratings as shown in Table II, and saw with some misgiving that Ken was rated low in all areas. She smiled ruefully to note that she had rated him low in acceptance by others, but then, she had frequently noted that the older a child is the less well can adults predict his friendship choices.

Turning to the cumulative record sum-

mary she made a note to suggest to the faculty that the children should be retested with a good intelligence test, since the most recent score recorded for any of them was two years old. The fact that the boys with the highest grades the last year did not have the highest IQ's could be a result of the fact that the test score was old and that other things, such as cooperation, influence grades. Table IV indicates the grade averages (marks) of some pupils in relation to Mrs. Blank's ratings on three characteristics. The grades given by their previous teacher seemed related to her ratings on those characteristics.

While much more information was included in the summary of data about the class, she turned to study some of the individuals. As part of a survey, a psychologist had interviewed several of the new pupils—she had copies of his interview notes regarding some in her class. Inasmuch as she knew she had the reports, she decided to study Ruth (whom she had rated "1" or upper fifth on each of the characteristics) and Nona (rated "5" on each characteristic). But first she compared the "Reputation Test" ratings on the two girls (Table V).

It appears that Ruth is a somewhat modest child, with a fairly realistic view of herself. One would also think her fairly well adjusted, likely to become a leader in the class. Although the class seemed to disagree on

TABLE V

REPUTATION TEST SCORES FOR TWO CHILDREN AS ASSIGNED BY PEERS, SELF, AND TEACHER, AND THE AVERAGE OF THE CLASS

Item **	Favorable			Unfavorable			
	Average	Nona	Ruth	Item **	Average	Nona	Ruth
2	3.2	0	2	1	1.5	2 +	0
3	2.2	0	2 +	4	.6	1 +	0
5	1.9	0	3 +	6	.9	3 +	4
8	1.4	0	2 +	7	.8	0	1
9	1.0	0	0	10	1.1	3	1
12	1.9	1	5	11	.9	0	0
13	1.5	2	4	14	.9	0	0
16	1.1	0	2	15	1.1	1 *	1 *
17	1.8	0	3	18	.9	7 * +	0
20	1.0	1 *	0	19	1.0	0	0
21	1.5	0	0	22	.8	0	0
24	.8	0	2 +	23	.9	1 *	0
25	1.3	0	2	26	.7	2 +	0
28	1.2	0	4	27	1.2	1	0
29	.8	0	0	30	.8	3 *	1 *
31	1.6	1	4	32	.5	2 *	0
34	.9	1 *	1	33	.8	0	0
35	1.1	1 *	3	36	.4	3 +	0
37	1.1	0	0	38	.3	1 *	0

* Self-rating and + teacher rating of the pupil. For instance, read item #18 as follows: The average mention on this unfavorable item was less than one per pupil, but Nona was mentioned by seven of her peers, by herself, and by the teacher while no one mentioned Ruth on this item.

** The pairs of items on the Reputation Test dealt with the following:
 1 & 2: nervous activity
 3 & 4: likeableness
 5 & 6: cheerfulness
 7 & 8: quarrelsomeness
 9 & 10: willingness to take chances
 11 & 12: dominance in interpersonal acts
 13 & 14: being a good sport
 15 & 16: bashfulness
 17 & 18: skill at games
 19 & 20: self-control

21 & 22: boys enjoy boys' activities
 23 & 24: girls enjoy boys' activities
 25 & 26: appearance
 27 & 28: show-off, attention seeker
 29 & 30: leader, starts things
 31 & 32: neatness
 33 & 34: frequently fighting
 35 & 36: friendliness
 37 & 38: sense of humor, laughs at self

whether or not she was cheerful (items 5 and 6) the teacher saw her as laughing and full of fun rather than sad and serious. As a best friend she was named by four persons, but only twice as one of the first three (according to the sociogram). One of these choosing her was also a newcomer. She named eight persons as best friends; half of them

were new to the school and one of these was repeating the grade. Apparently Ruth didn't feel like an outsider.

The psychologist's notes about Ruth were interesting. His observations regarding the child's poise, friendliness, and school attitudes, agreed with her own observations.

"Ruth was met at the door of the class-

room when the teacher asked her to talk to the man outside. I asked if she knew me and Ruth replied with my name (I had previously visited the class). On the way to the office there was an explanation given for the interview. Ruth accepted this and then chatted gaily about inconsequential.

"Ruth seems about average or slightly above in height, being a slender child. There was no apparent development of secondary sexual characteristics. She was dressed neatly and hair and skin seemed clean. She spoke courteously and freely during the interview. She is a new pupil in this school, at present riding to the school with a teacher who comes in from another district. The family is building a house in the district and will move soon. She has an older sister in the 8th grade and a brother in the 1st grade. Ruth reports that the brother doesn't like school but the sister does. Ruth says that she likes this school better than the old one because the children are nicer; in the old school they would 'talk about people and tell lies about me, especially two girls.'

"Ruth says that she considers school to be important. When asked, 'Why?' she said that it was necessary to learn in order to work. 'For instance,' she said, 'if you grow up and work in a store you would have to read and do problems.'

"When asked who told her that school is important, Ruth replied, 'It just is.' She says that both parents went to high school but not to college. She says that she likes everything about school. Her favorite subject is spelling and her least-liked one is geography.

"When asked about her vocational plans Ruth replied that she wants to be a nurse in the navy. She said that she saw a movie about a navy nurse and that helped her to decide. She had decided on being a nurse before she saw the movie, she reported."

Ruth's story about herself was only about a hundred words long (about average for the class).

"I was born in the Downey hospital, June 1, 1947. I live in Glentown. I went to school

in Glentown for 4 years. I had my biggest thrill when I iceskated. I like to swim very much. I also like to babysit. I like to do chores at other peoples houses, but never at my own. At one time I had 10 dolls. I had a doll that reached up to my waist. But Mary dropped a wash tray on its head & cracked it in half. I'm very frightened of snakes, & one day I went to the beach & I stepped on a snake it was a sidewinder.

"My favorite teacher in Glentown was Mrs. Smith."

Her three wishes were these: a bicycle, my grandma to get well, and a baby brother. In answer to the question, "What would you like to do for a living when you grow up?" she said, "A nurse in the airforce." Mrs. Blank remembered that Ruth had said that her father is a mail carrier.

Her responses to the statements are as follows (the material in quotation marks represents her comments):

1. September "fair"
2. My favorite school subject "spelling"
3. I think that school "is fun"
4. Boys and girls "there kind"
5. I like "bacon and tomato sandwiches"
6. Money "greedy men"
7. My parents do "silly things sometimes"
8. My friends "are nice to me"
9. Animals "tigers lions panthers"
10. I don't like "asparagus soup"
11. My parents don't "go to the show often"
12. The Fourth of July "parade"
13. Teachers "I don't know many teachers in this school"
14. I "don't like snakes"
15. Pets "cats dogs hourses"

So here was Ruth: a secure, fairly well-adjusted and normally-developing child whose parents provided her with interesting educational experiences, e. g., fair, movies.

Her middle-class parents probably were interested in school and encouraged the children to do well; since it is likely that the youngsters also accepted society's goals and standards of behavior they probably succeed in school. Mrs. Blank could expect to meet Ruth's parents at P-T A meeting. If she visited the home she probably would see copies of *Time* and *Saturday Evening Post* and on the shelves would be selections from the Book-of-the-Month Club. Ruth and her parents were pretty good friends, at least Ruth felt safe enough to say that her parents "do silly things sometimes."

Mrs. Blank then looked at Nona's folder. On the basis of the Reputation Test it would appear that her classmates saw few things positive about the girl and that Nona and the teacher both tended to agree with them. A serious, quiet child with little skill at games, she saw herself as friendly but was perceived by the teacher and some of her peers as being uninterested in making friends. She was named as best friend by no one, and named only two persons as her friends (both of them were new to the school that year). Mrs. Blank had noted "Nona seems afraid to speak in class." The psychologist's notes gave additional information.

"Nona was met at the door of the classroom. She said that she did not know me and she made no overt response to the introduction and explanation of the interview. She reported later that she is a transfer pupil and that this is the first year in this school.

"Nona is a little short for her age and seems somewhat stout, although definitely not fat. Her eyes were swollen and red, as if she had been crying a great deal. Her hands were dirty and the finger-nails needed cleaning. The nails appeared to be torn; all during the interview Nona twisted her hands and picked at the nails of the right hand, except for the time that she was chewing her nails.

"Her responses to questions were very brief and given in a very hesitant way and in a low voice. She reported that she has three

brothers and two sisters; one sister stays at home to take care of baby, who is 18 months old. She says that her father is 'lifting pipes' and the mother is working in a fruit-packing shed. (The Superintendent later told me that the father earns \$1.25 an hour by picking apples.)

"Nona said that school is important, but she didn't know why except that when she wants to stay home her mother makes her go to school. She says that her mother has never told her why she should go. Her sister, who is in the 8th grade, doesn't want to go to high school but mother says that she has to. The mother went to high school, but the father didn't. When asked if her father thought that school was important, Nona said that she didn't know. She said that she likes school.

"When asked what she wanted to do when she finished school, she replied, 'Daddy will probably move.' It then developed that the family moved often, sometimes just after the children started school. When asked if she would like to have a job when she finished school she said that she hadn't thought about it.

"She was asked what her father did in Baker (the previous residence). She became rigid and stared at the floor for about 30 seconds. Then she said that he had worked on a ranch with his father. As the interview progressed she became more talkative and volunteered the information that they were going back to Baker in a couple of weeks. She didn't know whether they would stay or not but thought that they would come back after they found out how grandpa is. She says that grandpa is sick and blind. 'Mamma tells Daddy that he has lost everything he had in Baker,' she volunteered. She added that their cow had died and that something else had been lost (the word was not understood). She continued by saying that this winter they are going to Mexico to visit a friend of Daddy's.

"She said that her favorite subjects are spelling and language. She doesn't like arith-

metic. When talking about arithmetic she grinned and seemed more full of life than she had previously. When asked about whether or not she liked her old school her face brightened and she seemed almost animated as she said, 'Yes.'

"To questions about friends she replied that she had a lot of friends at her old school —'three or four.' To another question she replied that she hadn't been in her present class long enough to make friends. (This was on Monday morning of the third week.)

"On the way back to her classroom there was some discussion of lunch, which was being served in the school cafeteria. To a question about whether or not she brought her lunch she said, 'Yes, because Mamma and Daddy don't have enough money to afford hot lunches for us.'"

Nona's story about herself was rather short. She wrote:

"In Baker on February 3 I was born thin
I travel on a ~~boat~~ to Washington and

thin I travel on a ~~boat~~ round the ocean but my mother stay in Washington with my aunt thin my daddy learned how to talk Spanish then we went to Kansas cause daddy hadd to have a job cause we wear just pinching pinnes to get some groceries thean we stop to get two gallons of water then we want to Grandads and he give us twelve dallers to gate gas and they all."

Her three wishes were for a million dollars, a tape recorder, and a horse.

Her responses to the statements or phrases were as follows:

1. September "make me think of Mrs. Blank"
2. My favorite school subject "spelling"
3. I think that school "no good"
4. Boys and girls "children"
5. I like "Mrs. Blank"
6. Money "fair"
7. My parents do "thay do not lie"
8. My friends "neighbors"
9. Animals "snakes"

10. I don't like "skunks"
11. My parents don't "lie"
12. The Fourth of July "fire"
13. Teachers "wimmen"
14. I "me"
15. Pets "cat and dog"

In answer to the question "What would you like to do for a living when you grow up?" she wrote: "I would like to sale beef to butcher and beef marks."

Mrs. Blank concluded that this relatively well-travelled girl was less secure than Ruth; she probably would like friends but lacked the skill and perhaps the energy to make them. Having moved frequently and perhaps been dominated by her family and the "better" element in the schools she was somewhat beaten down. Mrs. Blank felt that she should watch Nona for further signs of epilepsy and give her opportunities to make friends through working with others on projects. Also, she should find someone to teach Ruth some of the games. Mrs. Blank believed that Nona would move before the year was out (the Superintendent told her later that he understood that the family would move in a day or two). Nona was not necessarily a dull, drab child—her illustrations in the essay about herself suggested that if someone would work with her long enough that she could feel free she would show a lively imagination. Mrs. Blank did not expect to meet Nona's parents at P-T A and imagined that if she went into their home she would find some "beat-up" furniture, few books other than the Bible, and an absence of magazines except for *True Confessions*. The children probably had no library cards and few opportunities for educational experiences such as the county fair. Nona probably would not finish high school. It is hard to tell if Nona's parents had lied to her or if they had put great stress on telling the truth, or the extent to which Nona was denying her feelings about them.

Here, then, was a child for whom much could be done. However, her greatest need would not be ministered to: the need for

affection and friendship from an adult and her peers over a long enough period that she would gain a sense of belonging and become less restricted.

The information presented here about the class and the individuals (that is, sociogram and various tables) required about thirty

hours for tabulation and summarization. However, it should be kept in mind that one has considerable data about each child and the class. Undoubtedly this basic material would be supplemented during the year by meetings with parents at P-T A and in the homes, by test data, and by day-to-day observations.

PART THREE

Principles of Counseling



VIII. COUNSELING: AN OVERVIEW

IX. COUNSELING: POINTS OF VIEW

X. COUNSELING: CONTINUING PROBLEMS

THE text up to this point has had two important emphases. The primary objective of Part One was to give the student an overview of guidance prior to his examination of the separate components of the area. The overview serves the function of providing the student with a basis upon which he can consider guidance as a part of the total school program; a frame of reference within which he can begin to formulate a point of view.

Guidance was discussed in terms of its underlying philosophical assumptions, objectives, and functions. The historical development of guidance was traced to indicate the relationship between guidance and antecedent movements from which concepts, tools, and techniques were borrowed to be applied to education.

Guidance programs in the elementary and secondary schools were described and the differential emphases between the two were indicated. The various roles and responsibilities of personnel involved in guidance were examined, and guidance was discussed in terms of its relationship with curriculum.

Part Two had as its main objective that of giving the reader an increased knowledge and understanding of the tools and techniques of individual appraisal that are available to the counselor and personnel worker. These tools and techniques were explored in terms of their theoretical and methodological dimensions and their implications for practice. Standardized tests, autobiographies, and sociograms were some of the appraisal techniques that were specifically discussed.

Understanding of the individual is the basic purpose underlying utilization of appraisal techniques. The tools and techniques of guidance have value in proportion to the degree to which they enhance our ability to understand behavior; specifically, the behavior of *an* individual. Implicit in this position is the assumption that increased understanding will be the basis for increased efforts to meet the needs of each individual. It becomes appropriate, therefore, to consider at this point what we mean by the term "understanding."

The understanding of students' behavior and needs has at least two dimensions. The first is that level of understanding which implies knowledge of a general nature, such as the information that we have about principles of growth and development, psychology of adjustment, and so forth. This is information about individuals, not about *a specific individual*. General understandings do enable us to work with groups and individuals somewhat more effectively. The conscientious teacher's response to the group and to the individual will most certainly be affected by this type of general knowledge. However, general understanding of this nature falls far short of providing a

basis upon which the teacher or counselor can adequately meet the unique and specific needs of each individual.

The point to be made here is that the understandings which we need about an individual, and those which are obtained through use of appraisal techniques, are far more specific than the level discussed in the above paragraph. The information that we need in guidance is generally referred to as individual inventory data; that is, data and information about *a specific* individual. It is this specific information and knowledge about *an* individual that can be utilized directly in assisting the individual to develop adequate adjustive behavior; it is these understandings that can be used by the counselor, parent, teacher, and the individual himself as a basis for meeting his unique needs.

Far too often, however, the teacher's or personnel worker's interest ends with the accumulation of data and does not proceed to the next logical step—counseling and the application of that data to meet the needs of the student. The purpose of Part Three is to assist the reader to develop an understanding of counseling and the counselor's role in meeting the individual's needs and in assisting him to develop more adequate adjustive behaviors. Counseling is sometimes called the heart of guidance.

Questions that will arise in any discussion of counseling and guidance techniques and should therefore be considered by the reader include, What are the different methods and techniques of meeting the needs of students? To what extent have these methods been tried and tested experimentally? How are they related to the techniques of assessment and appraisal that we have considered thus far? Who is best qualified to meet the needs of students? Is application of guidance techniques an exclusive service of the guidance worker? To what extent do the roles of teacher and guidance worker overlap? What services require a background of competence and specialized training—training that is qualitatively different from that which the teacher receives in preparation for teaching—if they are to be efficiently administered?

GOALS OF COUNSELING

What are the basic goals and objectives of counseling? Although the statement could be phrased in many different ways, we may say that the counseling process should result in assisting the individual to become *autonomous*, *self-directing*, and *self-disciplined*. This is a rather ambitious statement of objectives and is not limited to counseling and guidance. It could well be set up as a general goal of education.

The interrelatedness of guidance and educational goals can perhaps be aptly demonstrated by consideration of the goal statement above. Essentially, guidance and counseling are subsumed under educational goals and both have the same ultimate ends. The difference, oversimplified to be sure, is one of emphasis. The guidance program is "a facilitative service"¹ and exists within the framework of education. Guidance exists, in part, to facilitate the job of

¹ H. B. McDaniel, *Guidance in the Modern School* (New York: Henry Holt, 1956), p. 30.

the teacher in achieving the objectives that are her responsibility. However, guidance services also have a justification in and of themselves on the basis of their role in developing an optimally functioning individual—an individual who, among other things, is realizing the maximum from his educational experiences as part of his on-going life experience.

To return to the statement of counseling goals, how does one become an autonomous, self-directing, self-disciplined individual? Of course, the entire answer is not to be found in guidance or any other single educative force, but includes the influences of family, church, peer group, and school, all of which have a tremendous influence on the personality. From the standpoint of counseling, however, achievement of these goals can be considered in terms of decision making. Counseling *per se* is aimed basically at the decision-making process. This is not in the sense of temporally isolated decision-making events, such as the decision to take ninth-grade English. Counseling should be an effort designed to assist the individual to make adequate decisions, both in the on-going processes of daily life and at those crucial points in time when important decisions are to be made that will influence the entire course of one's life.

What is basic to good decision making? There are at least three components. Certainly, a healthy personality is one of the basic ingredients. A healthy personality, however, is an abstraction that does not give direction to the counselor working with the student. Operationally defined, one of the components of a good decision is found in adequate self-knowledge. The task of increasing the self-knowledge or self-insight of the student is an overall educational goal. Again, it is guidance services which systematically direct themselves toward this end. The emphasis in Part Two of this text was on the tools and techniques of understanding the individual. The implication is, obviously, that these tools and techniques are not utilized by the teacher and the guidance worker only to gain an understanding of the individual from which they can give him direction. Perhaps the basic part of this understanding is the self-understanding that comes to the student as a result of consideration of the various aspects of his self. This is part of the counseling function: to bring to bear into the one-to-one relationship all of the knowledge about the individual that is available; to consider this knowledge critically; and to use it as a partial basis for modification of behavior and development of self.

The second component of a good decision is environmental knowledge. This perhaps is systematically brought about in vocational guidance which includes emphasis upon the understanding of the external world and society of which the individual is a member. Adequate environmental knowledge implies a critical analysis of educational and vocational opportunities and relating them to what one knows about oneself. This is not a separate process from that of self-understanding, for self-insight has meaning only in its relationship to the external environment. Environmental understanding, as an aspect of systematized guidance services, has much more importance and

meaning in our current society and culture than it had in a less industrialized and less technical society.

The third component of a good decision is confidence. Case studies attest to the fact that many individuals are able to arrive at what seems rationally the best decision at any given time, yet they seem unable to implement this decision effectively because they lack the confidence or—to put it in the vernacular—the courage of their convictions. Without the degree of assurance that is necessary to act successfully upon decisions, the individual's self-understanding and environmental knowledge cannot be brought to bear on a decision-making situation.

Part Three is directed toward consideration of basic principles of counseling and their implications for the school situation. The intent is to provide the reader with a basis of knowledge which will enable him to make intelligent adaptations of counseling theory and methodology to his work with students in the public schools. Emphasis will be on concepts that seem to be common to the different systems of counseling. Specific points of view in counseling will be examined in terms of their differences and similarities, and attention will be directed to continuing problems in counseling. Among these are the relationship between discipline and counseling, counseling ethics, counseling the exceptional child, research in counseling, and counselor training.

• VIII •

Counseling: An Overview



19. BASIC CONCEPTS IN COUNSELING

IN Chapters VIII and IX counseling will be dealt with in terms of its theoretical structure and its implications for practice. The rationale for giving consideration to the theoretical framework of counseling is as follows:

(1) Some sophistication regarding counseling theory is necessary for each person working within the educational setting if he is to evaluate properly the functioning of guidance services in his particular situation. It is apparent, of course, that every individual who is connected with education is to some extent in the position of evaluating the other systematized dimensions of education. Such evaluation, insofar as it relates to counseling, should be based upon an understanding of the goals of the counselor, the techniques that he uses, and the assumptions underlying his techniques.

It is the writers' opinion that much harm has been done to the general development of guidance because many members of the school team charged with the responsibility of evaluating guidance have not proceeded from an understanding of its purposes and functions. It is essential for purposes of proper evaluation that school personnel be assisted to develop a realistic level of expectation with respect to the probability for success and failure in counseling.

(2) For those readers who wish to specialize in counseling and guidance, it is assumed that an understanding of the principles and assumptions upon which one's practices are based is an absolute necessity for maximal professional growth and goal attainment. Without such an understanding, counseling is based upon an "intuitive hit-or-miss" level of operation which is inadequate

to meet the needs of those individuals who come for help and which will not be sufficient to enable the counseling profession to discharge its social responsibility. It will be extremely difficult for a counselor who does not have this basic understanding to justify some of the procedures that he uses, and this will place him in a rather untenable position in an area about which many school people are seemingly ambivalent; that is, they may see the need for guidance services, but at the same time they do not see that guidance services, as carried out, attain to any reasonable degree the goals and objectives that are set for them. A sound justification of procedures in terms of goals, techniques, and limitations will do much to improve personnel relationships within schools and insure a higher level of success for guidance activity.

(3) The prospective counselor must be able to evaluate counseling critically in terms of the degree to which the procedures, methodology, and general philosophical assumptions can be adapted to the school situation. The educational setting, by its very nature, has restrictions and limitations which are not consistent with some of the basic assumptions of counseling. An example of this is the axiom underlying most counseling procedure—namely, that the counselee comes of his own free will, perceiving that he has a problem, seeking assistance in solving his problem, and in time developing more adequate adjustive behaviors. Because of the nature of the educational institution, with its restrictions, problems of institutional responsibility, and the necessity for the teacher to consider the group as well as the individual, we must be concerned with the extent to which counseling theory has general application to education. An understanding of the body of theory and the experimentally tested techniques will enable the counselor to determine for himself the amount of counseling theory that is generally applicable and the direction in which modifications should be made.

(4) The close relationship between theory and practice should be emphasized. A basic assumption of the editors is that there is no schism between theory and practice. Good practice implies good theory; good theory implies good practice.

It might be well to explore further at this point the relationship between practice and theory, since it seems to be a focal point of dissension at the practitioner level in various professional areas. In counseling, one additional element enters the dissension. The added proposition is that the good counselor is born; that is, counseling is an art, not something that can be learned through a background of guided training and education. This is a point of view that cannot be superficially glossed over, for it is given credence and is apparently the basis upon which many school counselors act, even though some would not articulately subscribe to such a position. Implicit in this proposition is the idea that counseling as an art does not proceed most efficiently from a theoretical framework defined, tested, and having sufficient flexibility to incorporate new data, but that success becomes a function of "having a knack for it." Unfortunately there is not a substantial body of research evidence to refute this claim, for counseling, on a scientific basis, is in its infancy, and

much of it is still based on that which we "know" logically to be true, but which has not yet been empirically demonstrated.

It might be appropriate to deal at this point with the concept of "intuition," which is basic to the proposition that counseling is an art. In Sarbin's¹ article it is pointed out that what is commonly considered intuition (or art) in describing counseling success is in essence a crude type of hypothesizing and bringing of empirical evidence into the counseling process. Intuition is not innate skill endowed upon the favored few. It is the skillful, almost imperceptible integration of past experience into a framework that becomes the basis for future procedures and for prediction. Many good counselors are able to integrate their past experiences into a theoretical structure. The argument here is that counselors recognize that this is what they are doing and do not claim that what they are employing is innate intuition. Having accepted this position with respect to past experience, a climate for inquiry is established wherein the counselor attempts to systematize the analysis that he makes of his own record of success and failure. He tries to relate success and failure to techniques and principles that he has employed. This orientation minimizes the possibility that one's entire counseling methodology will be based upon a limited number of spectacular successes that have so impressed the counselor that they bias his whole mode of operation. Basic to this proposition is the concept that, in essence, the process of counseling involves building a theoretical framework by developing hypotheses that are being continually tested and modified and thinking of alternatives in terms of probabilities.

Obviously, the data which one selects to support a position are to some extent a function of one's bias. Since this is so generally applicable, the proposition advanced here is that one's position should have a systematized basis and be open to continual self-criticism and modification.

Within recent years, as the area of counseling has been in the process of becoming professionalized, earnest attempts have been made to develop a more adequate theoretical frame of reference within which the phenomena of the counseling process can be explained and predictions made. These efforts have been in the direction of developing a learning basis for counseling, studying the communications process, and so on. The basic task confronting the professional worker is to relate the outcomes of the counseling process to the experiences that take place within the counseling interview. This implies an area defined in such terms that the interview techniques will be experimentally testable. Until this is done, the professional counselor will have a great deal of difficulty in justifying his position and techniques.

What are the specific functions of theory in the counseling structure? Dewey's thinking in the *Logic of Inquiry* might aptly serve to illustrate the necessity of a theoretical position.

"Without systematic formulation of ruling ideas, inquiry is kept in the do-

¹ Theodore R. Sarbin, "Clinical Psychology—Art or Science," *Psychometrika*, 6 (1941), pp. 391-400.

main of opinion and action in the realm of conflict.”² This statement points out one of the primary reasons for the confusion and lack of agreement that now exists in the area of counseling, particularly at the public school level, and might be considered the rationale for our emphasis upon a sound groundwork in theoretical structure.

Dewey goes on to say that:

The immature state of social inquiry may thus be measured by the extent to which these two operations of fact-finding and of setting up theoretical ends are carried on independently of each other, with the consequence that the factual propositions on one side and the conceptual or theoretical structure on the other are regarded each as final and complete in itself by one or another school. . . . Directing conceptions tend to be taken for granted after they have once come into general currency. They thus remain implicit or unstated, and are not continually retested and reformulated into testable propositions.³

A prime requisite to theory construction and hypothesis testing is adequate definition. Inadequacy of definition has been a stumbling block for professional counselors and in the development of experimentation in counseling.⁴ An adequate definition is one that designates at least those objects which are included and those which are excluded in a particular phenomenon, and it forms the basis for hypothesis testing.

An example of the problem of definition can be found in the word “rapport.” Rapport symbolizes a concept that most counselors think to be a highly desirable quality of a counseling relationship. They state that counseling cannot be effective without a substantial degree of rapport between client and counselor. Yet, if one were asked to define rapport in such terms that it could be clearly identified as a part of a counseling relationship, or as not existing as a part of any given relationship, one would probably find much disagreement. It is obvious, however, that if we are to postulate phenomena such as permissiveness, rapport, acceptance, and empathy as being basic to counseling, then we must define these concepts so that we recognize them and agree when we have them and when we do not. A parenthetical question might be made regarding the concept of permissiveness which is considered a necessary adjunct of nondirective counseling and has some application to the classroom and to child rearing: How many people equate permissiveness with license and no control, direction, or guidance? Is this the counseling conception of permissiveness?

² John Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (New York: Henry Holt, 1938), p. 508.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

⁴ The relationship between psychotherapy and counseling will be treated at a later point.

19. BASIC CONCEPTS IN COUNSELING

The rationale for presenting W. C. Cottle's article, "Some Common Elements in Counseling," as the first one in this chapter is that it will give the student a basis for approaching counseling within a broad framework—within a frame of reference that transcends specific methodologies and emphasizes the similarities and commonalities that are apparently basic to the major points of view in counseling. It is to be hoped that this treatment of counseling, with its emphasis upon commonalities, will enable the reader to see the possibility of synthesis of the various points of view based upon experimentally tested evidence which indicates the differential utility of each.

Cottle's approach has the additional advantage of beginning to define counseling operationally. By analyzing the dimensions of similarity within the counseling process, he is in essence defining counseling. He is not defining it in terms of a general verbal statement but in terms of those operations that make up the counseling process. This is called an operational definition, and it is a heuristic mode of approach toward understanding counseling, particularly since the whole area is fraught with ambiguous terminology that does not communicate adequately. It may be that in the future, further conceptualization of and experimentation with the counseling process will be based upon this type of synthesis; that is, one which proceeds from an examination of the counseling commonalities and testing differences in outcomes as variables of a common process.

The five elements that Cottle considers basic to counseling are (1) the counseling relationship, (2) communication during the interview, (3) the background and experience of the counselor, (4) the client's change in feeling and attitudes, and (5) the structuring of the counseling interview.

Shoben⁵ has also addressed himself to basic factors in counseling, and for purposes of his analysis he has reduced them to two, which he calls (1) the relationship and (2) the conversational content. In essence these are the two basic tools with which the counselor works and it is from their utilization that aspirations for the success of counseling must emanate. Obviously, depending upon one's point of view, there is a great deal of additional material and information that can be focused into the counseling process—the case study and its array of techniques, environmental manipulation, and so forth. Yet in the final analysis, the success of counseling, to a great extent, will be a function of the relationship that exists between counselor and counselee and the adequacy of the communication during the course of the interview.

⁵ E. J. Shoben, "A Learning Theory Interpretation of Psychotherapy," *Harvard Educational Review*, 18 (1948), pp. 129-145.

Implicit in category (3) of the Cottle article (the counselor's background and experience) is the issue that has developed with respect to the requisites of background for successful counseling. One point of view is that an individual is successful in proportion to his ability to communicate empathy and understanding to the client and that his repertoire of skills and background of training in such fields as psychology and sociology is of less importance. The other point of view is that the combination of background and skills that the therapist has at his disposal is the most important factor in implementing the success of counseling. This question will be considered at a later time when systematic points of view are examined.

The school counselor may find it beneficial to examine his own procedures on the basis of Cottle's approach. The probability of the counselor's success or failure with students is largely dependent upon the counseling relationship and the adequacy of communication. A particularly germane approach would be to determine those factors in the school setting that affect the counseling relationship, and the manner in which it is affected. Equally important would be to determine what factors in the school setting facilitate or inhibit communication and free expression.

SOME COMMON ELEMENTS IN COUNSELING

Most articles in the literature about counseling have enumerated the merits of one system while criticizing all the other systems that have been developed. Much time and space have been wasted trying to show that one system of counseling is better than another. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the elements which appear to be common to all systems of counseling and, therefore, the techniques which are essential to all counselors in their work with clients.

Whether it is called rapport or "a warm, permissive atmosphere," every counselor has to develop a counseling relationship with the client. Such a relationship must be based on mutual trust and respect between the counselor and the client. On the part of the client this involves a willingness to

change and confidence in the counselor's ability to help bring about such change. This willingness to change includes a knowledge that something is unsatisfactory and a desire to do something about it. It is frequently called readiness for counseling and is at least partially dependent on the amount of anxiety present in the client. Counseling readiness on the part of the client is essential before progress in counseling can occur. Without it there is nothing forcing the client to work toward changing his behavior.

The counseling relationship on the part of the counselor means acceptance of the client as he is and treating him as a person worthy of respect. The counselor must recognize that the client needs to do the things

[From W. C. Cottle "Some Common Elements in Counseling," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 32 (1953): 4-8. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

he does in order to maintain himself as a person. It is a rare client who deliberately does things at odds with society; he does them because they are the only solution he sees to his momentary problems. Therefore it is up to the counselor to help him arrive at a place where he is free to make choices more in harmony with the aims of society. It is up to the counselor to help the client develop more alternative solutions to his problems. This can only be achieved in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect.

Another phase of the counselor's attempt to develop a relationship with the client is the growth of the client's capacity to solve his own problems. The experienced counselor readily admits that most clients are better able to solve a problem than would usually be expected. They often know more about their attitude toward and reaction to their environment than anyone else ever could know. This is difficult for many educators to accept because they are so used to being the best informed person in an area and therefore the person with *the answer*. This capacity of the client to solve his own problems, however, is the essence of our belief in democracy and is also the essence of a sound counseling relationship. It permits the client and counselor to share the responsibilities of the counseling interviews.

A third phase of the counseling relationship is the development of an atmosphere of frankness and honesty. To the client this is a feeling that in this interview there is no longer the necessity to hide from others or from himself. He can examine his plans, goals, and values in an atmosphere free from criticism and fear. To the counselor it is a recognition that these matters being discussed are the property of the client and he is entitled to know as much about them as he can tolerate and use at a given time. The counselor hopes eventually to reflect or present all information needed, but he does this in terms of what he estimates the client can use constructively. The counselor tries to prevent a situation where the client feels so threatened he cannot function.

This control of threat in the interview is a major function of the counselor. His training and experience should be such that he can judge the amount of threat the client can handle and take steps to minimize this through acceptance and reflection of client statements. The acceptance of client statements in a matter of fact manner frequently minimizes their threat to the client. So also the choice of the proper words in reflecting meaning back to a client or in phrasing other counselor-talk will minimize or increase the threat to the client. It is at this point that the judgment of the counselor greatly affects the progress of the case.

These factors combine to create what is called the counseling relationship. They are based primarily upon understandings and attitudes of the counselor and the client. These in turn are communicated in various ways. It is this element of communication in the counseling interview which becomes the second major topic of consideration as a common element in counseling.

The term "communication" is used here, rather than semantics, in order to emphasize that there are many ways of expressing meaning between two or more individuals. Communication includes not only words and their meaning, but posture, gestures, voice inflection, and facial expression. Unless attention is called to them, it is highly possible to overlook these ordinary ways of expressing meaning. Failure of typescripts and tape recordings to express in full what transpires in a counseling interview is caused by their inability to present these nonoral expressions of meaning.

The shrug of the shoulders may say, "What difference does it make?" The crinkled nose may be saying, "I don't like that kind of thing." The relaxed position of the body may say, "I can sit back and take it easy, too"; while leaning forward in a position of more tension may indicate, "I'm interested, go on and tell me more." There are many ways to express meaning with a minimum of words. The counselor must not only be aware of them and use them, he

must know how the client is interpreting them. This constant check on meanings abstracted by the client is one of the most difficult aspects of counseling. It is also one of the most necessary conditions of good counseling.

This skill in communication which the counselor must develop is a two-way skill. It is one where meaning is expressed to the client and where the client's meaning is readily understood. On an oral basis it requires that the counselor be a person of many vocabularies or vocabulary levels. The counselor must be able to use the language of his client to express meanings, rather than the counselor's own vocabulary. In the counseling interview the counselor must adapt to the vocabulary of the client as the chameleon changes color to match his surroundings. He must do this to make it easier for the client to grasp meanings and in order to understand what the client is trying to express.

Lindgren points out that general semantics as a tool in counseling permits us to determine the life values of the client. He says that although we have been accustomed to evaluating people in terms of a norm or average, we must also determine how they depart from this norm as an individual difference. Lindgren emphasizes that this combination of knowledge of the individual attitude of the client and of research data about normative behavior helps the counselor empathize with the client. This means that the counselor must be able to separate denotative or factual elements from connotative or symbolic elements in a client's speech. He must know that a client frequently thinks of occupations in terms of symbolic "signal reactions." He notes the area where these emotionally charged words exist and avoids them in the interview. The counselor cannot discuss the job of the airline hostess in an unemotional setting with the high school junior who is just "dying" to have such a job.

Thus in many ways the counselor communicates to the client and interprets what

the client conveys to the counselor. In all of this the main concern is with the meanings being communicated rather than the actual words or gestures used. This is related to a third common element.

THE COUNSELOR'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PEOPLE

This third element common to counseling interviews is the breadth and depth of knowledge about people attained by the successful counselor. Such knowledge begins with a liking for people and for sharing experiences with them. It includes experiences in living at all walks of life. It means the scientific knowledge of people acquired through academic courses in the social sciences as well as the practical or applied knowledge acquired from group activity in work and play, from reading, movies, radio, or television. The greater the fund of insightful experiences with people the counselor has acquired, the more apt he is to be able to understand what a client tries to tell in the interview. The richer the counselor's background in *all* walks of life, the easier and more accurately he perceives the content and meaning of what the client tries to tell him. This background promotes greater empathy with the client. It permits the counselor to look out on the world from the client's eyes without the emotional involvement of the client himself. As a client once said, "Our talking here in an interview is like reading two books on the same subject." By this he expressed his feeling that his perception and that of the counselor were similar, yet sufficiently different that he was able to gain a different perspective.

This background of training acquired by the counselor includes sufficient experience with abnormals to be able to identify abnormalities encountered in counseling and to know whether to attempt treatment or to refer. It involves experience in using biographical data and other recorded data

from all pertinent sources. It necessitates that the counselor be able to identify the client's ability to evaluate himself. Is this client's evaluation of self near the evaluation placed on him by society? Can the counselor help the client to change his self-appraisal? Are the client's goals and values mature, self-satisfying, and socially acceptable? These are some of the questions the counselor must be ready to ask and answer out of his background acquired for counseling.

Two other techniques the counselor must acquire as part of his background are the ability to handle pauses in the interview and a knowledge of when and how to terminate an interview. Pauses in an interview can be caused by the client's need to think through a phase of his problem that has just occurred to him. They can produce much valuable insight into behavior. At this point the counselor needs only to know that the client is comfortable and busy, then he waits for the client to break the pause. If, however, the client seems restless and ill-at-ease, it may be a sign that he needs help from the counselor. In this case it may be necessary for the counselor to break the pause in some fashion.

To say that a counselor needs to know when and how to terminate an interview sounds simple, but it is a difficult technique to master. The easiest way is to restrict all counseling interviews to a maximum of one class period. Thus the client knows as the period ends that he must leave and he usually takes responsibility for doing this. In some instances however, the client will be so engrossed in discussing his situation that he loses all sense of time. Here the counselor will need to break in to terminate the interview. In some extreme cases the counselor will need to rise, grasp the client by the arm, and escort him to the door as he discusses with him matters terminating the interview. It is highly convenient to have the receptionist announce the next appointment as another means of terminating an interview.

THE CLIENT'S CHANGE IN FEELINGS

A fourth common element in the counseling interview is the change in feelings expressed by the client as he progresses in the interviews. Whether they are "vocational" interviews or "therapeutic" interviews (if they can be differentiated), the feelings expressed at the beginning are usually those of confusion, uncertainty, and negation. As the client progresses in the interviews his growth is accompanied by an expression of feeling which changes from a majority of negative statements to those of an ambivalent nature. From a statement like, "I hate my mother because I think she is a mean woman," to one like, "I don't like the way my mother forces me to do things, but maybe she has to make me do them." Continued growth begins to produce a preponderance of positive statements such as, "I can understand now how my mother would feel left out of the things my father and I do, and resent it. Probably we're to blame for the way she acts." Usually this change from negative to ambivalent to positive feelings expressed in the interviews can be used as an indicator of the progress of the case when checked against overt changes in the behavior and in the appearance of the client.

The insight which accompanies a changed attitude toward his own behavior on the part of the client plays a part in the change from negative to positive statements of feeling. This insight is the broadened understanding of why the client behaves in this fashion. He understands the reasons why he has been behaving in such a manner and usually finds that there is no longer a need to maintain such behavior patterns; or that he now knows behavior patterns which will accomplish the same thing in a manner more suitable to him at present. Thus his changed attitudes toward his behavior will actually result in changed behavior. He no longer has the need to hide from himself or from society, thus he can use all his ef-

fort in constructive work rather than using the majority of his effort to maintain an outmoded form of behavior. This permits him to be more efficient as a better adjusted person.

A fifth common element in counseling is the structuring that takes place. This may consist of an explanation of procedures to be followed during aptitude testing. Such an explanation usually includes efforts to show how the counselor integrates information from records, personal data forms, interviews, and testing to present as complete a picture of the client as possible. It may also include a description of the processes whereby the client contributes to this pool of information. Such matters discussed here may involve how and when he reports for testing, what he does with his personal data form, how he makes future interview appointments, and so forth.

Most structuring concerning the limitations to be observed in counseling interviews is probably just as effective if it is implied rather than spelled out for the client. This will have to be governed by the rapidity with which the client gains insights during the interview. Some clients who are seriously disturbed may not gain insight very fast. For such persons the counselor may need to be quite specific about the procedures and limitations of the interview. On the other hand, such clients may become more disturbed at overt structuring. Actually, there is probably no need to be concerned over whether the structuring is overt or implied. It will have to depend on the counselor's judgment about how the client is being affected in each case. As a general rule counselors feel they are doing a smoother job if the structuring occurs as a natural outgrowth of other phases of the interview.

SUMMARY

In summary then, this paper has considered five elements which appear to be quite common in all systems of counseling.

Enumeration of these elements is a part of any attempt to integrate various systems of counseling and develop a common body of counseling theory. The first common element is the relationship developed between the counselor and the client. It is based on an attitude of mutual respect and confidence, counseling readiness, acceptance of the client as a worthy person, faith in the client's capacity to grow, an atmosphere of frankness and honesty, and minimizing the amount of threat in the interview.

The second common element discussed is the way in which the counselor and the client communicate in an interview. It was emphasized that meanings are more important here than surface statements and that communication includes much more than the spoken word. This is why no medium except motion pictures or television can present a complete picture of the counseling interview.

A third common element considered is the breadth and depth of knowledge which the counselor brings to his work. This includes not only the tools and techniques of counseling learned in formal courses, but also the informal study of people during the counselor's leisure and work activities.

A fourth common element is the change in feelings and attitudes which accompanies the progress of a client in interviews. The successful counseling process is accompanied by a change in attitudes toward his own behavior on the part of the client and consequent change from expression of a preponderance of negative feelings to a preponderance of positive feelings. The amount of insight present is a useful measure of the success of the counseling.

The fifth and last common element that was discussed here is the structuring or the limits which are developed to determine how the counseling will proceed.

These are the factors which seem to appear in all systems of counseling. They are the elements which identify the successful counselor whether he is directive, non-directive, or eclectic.

M. E. Hahn's "Conceptual Trends in Counseling" deals with four specific factors: (1) the relationship between counseling and psychotherapy, (2) the relationship between counseling and personality theory, (3) the relationship between counseling and learning theory, and (4) counseling as a therapeutic activity.

The first factor is an issue largely because of our inability to define the counseling process in terms of the operations that make it up and thus distinguish among counseling and other related activities. The inadequacy of definitions of counseling is an obstacle to establishing relationships with other professions, particularly with the medical profession. This in turn creates difficulties in certification and legislation for the professional counselor.

One attempt to differentiate counseling and psychotherapy has been made on the basis of intensity. Counseling is distinguished from psychotherapy on the basis of the depth of the treatment. The inadequacy of such a definition becomes almost immediately obvious. In describing treatment, there exists an area of ambiguity in which it is impossible to distinguish between treatment in depth and treatment that is not in depth.

Another expression for this approach, as indicated by Hahn, is that counseling is an activity intended for "individuals who are normal, but who are having problems of adjustment." The same dilemma develops within this orientation. There simply is no set of criteria by which we can distinguish the "normal" from the "less than normal" in certain areas of ambiguity on the behavior continuum.

This inadequacy of definition in addition creates a serious problem for the school counselor himself. It is generally considered that the school has the responsibility for counseling students but that psychotherapy is not a responsibility of the school, and, furthermore, that school counselors, by virtue of inadequacy of background and training, are not equipped to carry out psychotherapeutic activities. Obviously, if the two activities are not defined specifically enough so that one can be differentiated from the other, the probable result will be that the school counselor will be engaging in both activities. Although this may seem unimportant to the reader at first, its implications in terms of educational philosophy and its moral and ethical aspects are extensive.

There is, moreover, the possibility of direct harm resulting to children because of inadequate differentiation between counseling and psychotherapy. There are many school children who are actually in states of severe stress, tension, and conflict, and who therefore need competent psychotherapy. Serious behavior disorders may not be immediately apparent to counselors in establishing initial contacts and inadvertently a great amount of harm can be done before the counselor realizes that he is not competent to deal with the

individual. Or the counselor may make the moral and ethical judgment that once having initiated a relationship with the counselee, once having begun to break down the pattern of defenses that had been set up, he really cannot terminate the relationship. Where does this leave the counselor, who begins to realize as the interviews proceed that he is in deeper water than he thought? The reader should ponder the implications that this problem has for a team approach and utilization of community resources.

CONCEPTUAL TRENDS IN COUNSELING

Counseling, as one of the newest areas of professional psychology, has all of the troubles with its conceptual trends that afflict the older siblings plus difficulties of its own springing from many sources. This area of professional psychology must depend heavily on many other groups in psychology for theory and methodology. It is obvious that we have not developed a store of unique systematic theories of our own.

In the interests of brevity, this paper is restricted to conceptual trends in only four areas. These are (1) counseling and psychotherapy, (2) counseling and personality theory, (3) counseling and learning theory, and (4) counseling as therapy. They are not necessarily the most important considerations for counseling psychologists but they are live issues for many.

There is lack of clear definition, operational or otherwise, of what either *counseling* or *psychotherapy* is. Many counselors agree that both are psychological processes carried on at a professional level by individuals with academic training at or beyond the M.A. level and, we hope, with appropriate internship exposures. There is general agreement also that both are branches of clinical psychology in the broad sense. Psychotherapy, however, tends to be medically

and psychiatrically oriented. The greater the client adjustment distance from the hypothetical "normal," the more clearly his treatment lies in psychotherapy. With these examples of at least partial agreement, one might assume that some sort of clear differentiation is easily possible.

A few years ago a number of us held that opinion. However, the Boulder Conference, the joint conferences of the United States Public Health Service and the University of Michigan in 1949 [19] and the meetings of a committee of Division 17, American Psychological Association, at Northwestern last fall, disillusioned us. I know of few counselors or psychotherapists who are completely satisfied that clear distinctions have been made.

It appears that a number of those who thought of themselves as counseling psychologists are practicing psychotherapy. In a like manner many of those who consider themselves psychotherapists are performing functions which counselors have considered their special province. Even when the approach to definition is made through analysis of recommended training, the products of both rites of passage are strikingly alike in the arts and skills claimed for them.

Perhaps the most complete agreements

[From M. E. Hahn, "Conceptual Trends in Counseling," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 31 (1953): 231-235. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

are (1) that counseling and psychotherapy cannot be distinguished clearly, (2) that counselors practice what psychotherapists consider psychotherapy, (3) that psychotherapists practice what counselors consider to be counseling, and (4) that despite the above they are different.

In the realm of reaching decision and definition the following ideas all have proponents. Bordin has taken the stand that, "there is a discernible growing attempt to develop a conception of counseling which integrates it as a special subdivision of psychotherapy" [2]. Hahn and MacLean hold the position that the real situation is one of general clinical practitioners competent to practice psychotherapy among other skills [6]. They consider counselors practicing psychotherapy, with the severely neurotic or the psychotic, as a special group within the broader bounds of clinical psychology which includes the general practitioner. Rogers has been interpreted as considering counseling and psychotherapy to be interchangeable terms [15].

There has been speculation about the hypothesis that the counselor and the psychotherapist represent significantly different personality trait patterns. Is the psychotherapist as an individual possessed of a strong social welfare component among his major personality traits? If we consider the *Strong Vocational Interest Blank* as measuring important dimensions of personality, some evidence supporting this viewpoint may be drawn from the recently developed specific scales for various types of psychologists. Berdie and Paterson initiated research along these lines a few years ago but the results have never been published. Some light is thrown on this hypothesis by Kelly and Fiske in their study of Veterans Administration trainees in clinical psychology [7].

COUNSELING AND PERSONALITY THEORY

One point on which counseling psychologists generally agree is that their work should

be based on a systematic formulation of personality development and organization. The fact that neither counseling nor other psychologists have developed a generally acceptable systematic approach to personality development or structure indicates the need to push forward rapidly toward such a formulation. It is of interest to note that Eysenck in the introduction to the section on personality development in the 1951 *Annual Review of Psychology* says, "Personality is probably the most general and least well defined term in use in Psychology. . . ." He continues, "I regard the study of personality as a scientific discipline subject to all the customary dictates of scientific methodology. This to my mind excludes the clinical, ideopathic, and intuitive methods of approach, except as sources of hypotheses" [4].

Because a major issue is concerned with the lack not only of clear definition, but also of clear direction in this regard for many of us, I quote from Sears in the *Annual Review of Psychology*:

The situation is very different from that of learning, perception, or other segmental aspects of behavior . . . there is no need to conceptualize total action systems. Personality, as a field of study, however, comprises just those totalities, and hence the theorist must devise a sufficient number of variables to provide a possibility of reasonably accurate analysis but not so many that he approximates the multiplicity of traits, motives, emotions, feelings, images, and thoughts as these occur in the conscious or unconscious experience of the behaving person [3].

It appears that we do not know with any definiteness where we are going, nor are we certain as to our present positions. For example, the claims of psychology as a science are based, at least in part, on our inheritance from the biological and physical sciences. We have borrowed widely from them in the areas of quantification, general

scientific methodology, and the treatment of data by statistical methods. However, the conceptualizations in the fields of personality development and organization have led us to split, among other issues, over the vexing problems of the nature-nurture controversies. Despite the connotation of the term clinical as "nonexperimental," many of those in the practice of *counseling* and *psychotherapy* are accepting uncritically clinical prejudices, which might well derive from Lysenko as reasonable equivalents for research. That environmental factors account for all, or most, of the variance in personality differences imprinted on a *tabula rasa* is as difficult to substantiate experimentally as the opposite viewpoint. This easy dismissal of genetics is just a bit summary.

Because of the lack of a commonly accepted systematic approach to personality theory in psychological counseling, many practitioners borrow controversial working hypotheses from various current systems on a personal acceptability basis. We borrow from many sources including psychoanalytic theory and factor analysis. Rogers has found partial agreement with his hypotheses and postulates among many counseling psychologists [15]. Mowrer has contributed to the rise of an enforced eclecticism through his provocative writings which relate learning theory and the dynamics of personality [9]. From the California studies of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, more mental indigestion is indicated in the analysis of ideas and research findings which must be done in the search for a working personality theory which counseling psychologists can ultimately accept.

In closing this section mention is made of the hypotheses from researchers in social psychology, including group dynamics. Confusion in this area has been great. On the one hand we have names like Lewin, Lipsett, and Marquis, on the other we have lay *group dynamicists* combining group therapy, manipulative methodologies for controlling small groups, and "democratic" procedures. Some of this latter school appear closer to Dianetics than to Lewin.

Although this review has indicated more than a little chaos, many of us are not particularly discouraged. The discussions, disagreements, and controversies which are current indicate that many counselors have anxieties about conditions and that there will be continuing progress toward commonly acceptable systematized approaches with stronger foundations in research.

COUNSELING AND LEARNING THEORY

There appears to be general agreement that the learning process is of major importance in better adjustment for the "normal" client. Here, too, there is no generally accepted theoretical approach. A lively interest in learning and its relationship to personality structure, psychotherapy, and counseling has been evident in recent years. Misbach, for example, analyzed Freudian learning theory in a 1948 publication [13]. Sears has written of social learning relative to personality and secondary drive development [11]. Shoben contributed an article on counseling and learning theory which attracted much interest on the part of counseling psychologists. He was concerned with the reinforcement theories of Thorndike and Hull and an anxiety-reduction hypothesis [12]. The theoretical positions of Tolman and Guthrie have had serious consideration in the thinking of those who are attempting to formulate a systematic position on counseling and the place of learning theory in it. Mowrer, as was mentioned in the discussion of personality development and structure, has contributed ideas which need empirical trial [9].

One of the major road blocks in reaching a systematic position lies in the confusion surrounding definition of such activities as *advising*, *counseling*, and *psychotherapy*. If anxiety (drive) reduction is the *sine qua non* of counseling, it is also important in certain types of advising where information about simple, but unknown, routine steps may give complete release from acute anxiety. For example, the anxieties

of the client who has received a 1-A draft classification, but who does not know the liaison services available to him on his college campus nor the selective service policies which govern his case, can be easily relieved. We move from this simple intellectual understanding (learning) of steps to be taken, to the changing of attitudes and value systems, sometimes with a deeply affective component, where *Rogerian* methodology may bring about a nonintellectual attitudinal restructuring which, in turn, reduces anxiety. The task of finding answers in learning theory is not an easy one, but again, many of us are optimistic as we continue the search.

COUNSELING AS THERAPY

The controversies in this aspect of psychology approach an intellectual pier-six-brawl with ethical overtones. Some of the by-products have been pure heat. There is, however, an increasing amount of mixed heat and light. The amount of pure light is still not great. However, the enthusiastic disagreements in the past decade may have led to greater unanimity in conceptual trends than in any of the three areas so far mentioned.

A first point of quite general agreement was stated by Bordin when he indicated his belief "that counselors will be more concerned with individuals who are within the normal range of personal adjustment" [17]. A majority of those counseling psychologists who commit themselves to print appear also to agree with a second viewpoint of his that all of the problems their clients present may be categorized as *personal* although the diagnosed causal, or client-verbalized major dimension may have a special label such as "educational," "religious," or "vocational."

Pepinsky has given us a definition of clinical counseling in which there is support for Bordin's position. He states that counseling can be considered "(a) as the diagnosis and treatment of minor (nonembedded, nonincapacitating), functional (nonorganic)

maladjustments, and (b) as a relationship, primarily individual and face-to-face, between counselor and client" [10].

Perhaps understanding of the conflict is more easily reached if we approach the battlefields after some study of the leadership of the conflicting therapeutic ideologies. To the writer it seems that one large group of practitioners has accepted leadership from those with close acquaintanceship with and sympathy for social welfare approaches. Another important group has followed leadership from those with medical training and orientation. A third group has been influenced by the student-administration needs of large institutions of higher learning.

Our first group, the social welfare advocates, is inclined to follow ideographic disciplines. The problems of the individual are so important, that, in extreme cases, our therapy must be based on a unique world as it is perceived by that individual. The counselor plans this therapy in such a way that the client may achieve his own better adjustment through continuing to live in this unique world with satisfaction, or to self-develop a new unique world, or worlds, to which, in turn, the counselor subscribes. Snygg and Combs have written of this general type of approach [16].

The second group, the medically oriented, while just as "client centered" as either of the others, subscribes to a greater extent to nomothetic disciplines. In medical practice there would appear to be little point in the long period of professional training if one proceeded to discuss various therapies and specific remedies with the patient and then permitted him to participate in the selection of treatment including rejection or partial acceptance. The client is to them a unique individual to whom a molar approach is necessary; nevertheless, they expect most patients to have but one head, appendix, heart, or cerebral cortex, as well as to conform to usual symptomatic diagnosis. The general approach is nomothetic, the individual approach is partly ideographic, and therapy is based upon both experimental evi-

dence and clinical judgment. A less extreme expression of this point of view has been ably presented by Thorne [18].

The third group the measurement oriented, has been fostered by psychologists with a statistical orientation. Psychometrics have been used more widely for diagnostic purposes than by the other schools of thought. Paterson, Bingham, Thurstone, Strong, Super, and others, have given impetus to a sound respect for a partially nomothetic approach. Their counseling endeavors have been most widely applied to clients who were students in colleges and universities although the methodologies have been widely practiced in industrial psychology and in the military in World War II. Like the other two groups, they are client-centered and committed to molar concepts of personality organization. All three groups appear to be engaged more in preventing difficulties than in remedial work with those who have become extreme deviates.

As was intimated at the beginning of this section, the hope for early agreement on therapies in counseling is great. Many of our differences are situational, not in fundamental theory. In the final analysis, we all have but one major therapeutic tool—the interview. We are not "working doctors," we are "talking doctors." Our fiercest controversies are not about agreement on experimentally defensible closed systems of learning or personality development and organization. Without such workable theoretic formulations, our battles over eclecticism are not on major theoretical grounds, but rather over the choice of interview methodologies which, although some special groups may lay claim to one or another, are really community property.

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The following article in this section, Leo Goldman's "Counseling: Content and Process," offers another example of an approach which deals with an analysis of counseling *per se*. This approach illustrates two types of emphasis, one called a "content" approach and the other a "process" approach. The "content" approach, as the term implies, emphasizes the intellectual content of the interview and implies treatment of the counselee as a rational being whose basic need is for further intellectual clarification of his problems. The opposing point of view emphasizes the process; that is, those changes in the relationship, attitudes, and feelings that develop during the course of the interviews. In the "process" point of view the content *per se* is considered to be of minimal importance and is essentially a vehicle through which the process of counseling can be carried on.

Goldman describes the two points of view and indicates the possibility of *rapprochement* toward which many counselors are beginning to direct their activities. The middle-of-the-road position is, obviously, to recognize the inextricable relationship between content and process and the necessity of further understanding of each as a part of counseling.

Traditionally, research and conceptualization in counseling have been concerned with the problem of content, but in recent years much activity has been directed toward an analysis of the process. The two positions have important implications in terms of techniques and evaluational procedures. Generally, the counselor who attaches the greatest degree of importance to the content of the counseling process would be interested in development of tools and techniques with which he could analyze this content. The culmination of this effort is in the case study with its diverse techniques of diagnosis and assessment.

On the other hand, since those interested primarily in the process of the counseling interview generally attach far less importance to the case-study techniques than they do to the changes that manifest themselves during the course of the sessions, their evaluation would emphasize measures of communication, feeling, response to clarification, reflection-type responses, etc. These two factors are discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII.

Understanding the implications of the two approaches is a necessity for the school counselor and guidance worker, and an analysis by the counselor of the relative importance he attaches to content and process would be invaluable in assisting him to clarify his own position. The tendency is for most school counselors to be much more interested in the content than the process; to assume that once the content is understood and intellectualized, changes in behavior should automatically emerge. Clinical evidence in recent years has tended to indicate the inadequacy of the extreme content approach. Intellectualization of content apparently is not the primary factor in ultimate modifi-

cation of the behavior of the counselee, for it does not seem to insure a high probability of a change in behavior.

COUNSELING: CONTENT AND PROCESS

An attempt will be made here to present briefly a method of analyzing counseling—in terms of "content" and "process"—which has been found very useful in other fields and which seems to have real value for the guidance and personnel field. This method offers a framework for talking about counseling, and some mention will be made later of its applications to the practice of counseling, to research in counseling, and to counselor training.

It should be emphasized that the approach to be described is by no means original; certainly in the field of social casework it has received considerable thought and application. It has also been applied in the field of group dynamics, as an aid in the analysis of group behavior. However, there seems to have been very little, if any, systematic exploration of the possibilities of this approach in counseling. It seems to have immediate and potential value in clarifying some of the major issues in counseling theory and practice and therefore merits serious consideration as a way of looking at counseling.

COUNSELING CONTENT

"Content" refers to the "what" of counseling; it tells *what* the counselor and client talk about. It includes, for example, the *nature of the problem* which the counselee brings. This might be classified into such areas as educational, vocational, social, emotional, etc., thus indicating the facet of the individual's life where the problem seems to be focused. Another classification system,

more psychological in nature, uses the categories of lack of assurance, lack of information, lack of skill, dependence, self-conflict, and choice-anxiety. Different counselors will use different diagnostic schemes and will emphasize diagnosis to different extents; but whatever diagnostic system is used, that system is a part of the content of counseling.

In addition to the nature of the problem, content also includes the *information* of various kinds—about the individual, about schools, about occupations, about the counselee's environment, etc.,—which are used by client and counselor at some point during their work together. Thus, a student's school record would be part of the content of counseling in an educational counseling situation, as would be his test scores, and any other pertinent data found in his folder. Also included in this aspect of content would be the occupations which counselee, or counselor, or the two together, suggest and discuss.

Content, then, is the substantive aspect of counseling. Different counselors will specialize in different content areas of counseling some being primarily educational counselors, some vocational counselors, some personal counselors. Some counselors, on the other hand, are generalists; they work in several content areas rather than in just one.

COUNSELING PROCESS

"Process" refers to the "how" of counseling; it tells *how* the counselor and client work with the content. It includes, for ex-

[From Leo Goldman, "Counseling: Content and Process," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 33 (1954): 82-85. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

ample, the kind of relationship which develops between counselor and counselee—in one instance a dependent kind, in another a cooperative kind, in still another an antagonistic kind. Some counselors may be fairly consistent in the kind of relationship they develop; others may vary relationships depending on the individual client and his needs.

Process also tells about the *sequence* of activities; does the counselor begin by collecting a body of information about the client, or does he begin by asking the latter to talk about his problem as he sees it? In a school guidance program, are tests given in standard batteries to groups of students, or are tests selected for individual students only after one or more interviews concerning educational and vocational planning? These are illustrations of different sequences used typically by different counselors, or by any one counselor with different clients.

Another aspect of process concerns the *methods* used by the counselor to deal with the content of counseling. An example is found in the use of test results: one counselor may give his client recommendations and advice based on the test results, while another counselor may limit his presentation of test results to interpretations, and still another may give only the raw data in percentile form and encourage his client to participate in the process of interpretation. Another example is found in the different methods that may be used in presenting occupational information to clients: suppose a high school student is considering the occupation of machinist, and the counselor feels that the boy is lacking important information about the occupation. How does the counselor handle this situation? Counselor X might simply present the information directly and orally. However, Counselor Y, using a different method (and thereby a different process), might refer the boy to a folder in the occupational library and suggest some reading before the next interview. Counselor Z, in this same situation, might

try to get the boy to discuss the occupation, in the hope that the counselee himself would realize his lack of information and would then take the initiative in the search for it. Here then we have seen three different methods for handling the same content.

Finally, process tells how the counselor *approaches* the client, whether in a leading and probing manner or in a following and unquestioning manner, or something between these two extremes. One counselor may feel it his responsibility to "look for trouble," while another may feel that he can be helpful and effective only if he waits for the client to introduce a specific problem area. Robinson has referred to this characteristic of the counseling process as "degree of leading" and has developed a classification system for degree of leading, by which one may determine the extent to which a counseling interview tends to be leading or following.

These, then, are some of the elements of the counseling process: the relationship, the sequence of activities, the methods used in dealing with the content of the interview, and the counselor's approach or degree of leading. Whereas the content of counseling is to a large extent something that the client brings, process is to a greater degree perhaps a function of the counselor and his personality and his philosophy of personnel work.

Two questions might well be raised at this point: (1) which is more important, content or process; and (2) in what ways might they be related to each other? It is the purpose of the section which follows to explore these questions somewhat and in particular to try to integrate these two aspects of counseling.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONTENT AND PROCESS

For explanatory purposes, it will be helpful to examine three contrasting points of view concerning the relative importance of

content and process in counseling. This is done at the expense of oversimplification, since there surely are many more than three points of view on this subject. These three categories might therefore best be regarded as points on a continuum; they will be referred to as the "extreme content emphasis," the "extreme process emphasis," and the "combined content-process approach."

The Extreme Content Emphasis. This is probably the most traditional approach and historically seems to have preceded the others. From this point of view, it is considered important only that the "right" diagnosis be made by the counselor and the "right" course of action be taken by the counselee. The counselor is seen as the expert in analyzing problems and in prescribing solutions; this is similar to the traditional medical approach. The counselor gives little thought to the nature of the relationship developed with the client, wanting only good enough "rapport" that the latter will talk easily and will accept the counselor's interpretations and suggestions. This counselor might be characterized as *problem-oriented*, since he is concerned essentially with finding the best solution for the particular problem which the client brings.

The Extreme Process Emphasis. This seems to have developed more recently and probably owes much to the various schools of psychotherapy, in particular in recent years to the Rogerian school. At this extreme we have the counselor who is concerned very little with the solution of the particular problem which the client brings, but who is concerned very much with giving the client a unique personal and emotional experience. The rationale is that the individual can *change* during this process and can come out of it better equipped to solve future problems. At the extreme of this kind of counseling, psychological tests, occupational and educational information, advice on study habits, etc., may be considered outside the realm of counseling. Counseling

is perceived as a personal development process whose most important goal is to help the individual to change attitudes, feelings, methods of approaching problems, etc. Whereas the content emphasis counselor was characterized as *problem-oriented*, this counselor might be characterized as *growth-oriented*, since he is more concerned with how the client changes during the process than he is with the way the particular problem is solved.

The Combined Content-process Approach. This is a middle position resulting from integration of content and process approaches, and it seems likely that this is the kind of position toward which an increasing number of counselors are working. The counselor with this orientation feels, as does the content-emphasis counselor, that it is important to help his client find a satisfactory and satisfying solution to the particular problem which he brings. However, he feels that it is also important to be concerned with the *manner* in which a solution is sought. While this counselor hopes that his client reaches the "right" solution, i.e., one which expert judges would consider good in terms of mental health, efficient use of resources, etc., he feels that in some instances it might be better for a given counselee to make a "wrong" decision but to make it in a manner which will ultimately result in greater personal growth on his part.

This integration of content and process aspects of counseling may be made in different ways by different counselors, with varying degrees of emphasis on content and process. The particular type of integration made will be a function of the counselor's personality, his philosophy, his interests, and the setting in which he functions—the amount of time available, the types of referrals he gets, etc. However, whatever the particular "mixture," it will make some provision for each of the major aspects of counseling—content and process. At the present time this position seems more tenable than either of the others.

APPLICATIONS OF THE CONTENT-PROCESS APPROACH

Space would not permit extended treatment of the implications of this approach as applied to many problem areas in counseling. Therefore this section contains brief discussions of a few areas of application of the content-process dichotomy and of the combined content-process approach.

Applications to Counseling Practice. Any counseling interview or series of interviews may be examined to ascertain the extent to which content and process have been adequately handled. When tests have been used, for example, the content questions include: Are they good tests? Were they administered and scored correctly? Were the results interpreted properly? On the other hand, the process questions would include these: Were the tests selected in such a manner that the client understood their purposes and was really ready for them? Were the results presented in such a way as to be meaningful and useful to the client? In going over the test results, finally, did the counselee have a chance to work through his attitudes toward them and toward his self-concept as it was affected by the scores? A similar analysis could be made with relation to the use of occupational information, referrals, etc. In each instance, the counseling activity needs to meet both kinds of criteria—the adequacy of the content covered, and the adequacy of the process through which this content was used.

Applications to Research in Counseling. Research studies in counseling can conveniently be divided into those in the content area and those in the process area (and those also which overlap both areas). In the first area are the multitude of studies reporting correlations between test scores and success in school or on the job, studies of the reliability and validity of counselors' diagnoses, studies of the occupational choice process, etc. Research in the process area

seems to have been a more recent development and includes studies of what actually happens in counseling interviews, the effects of various types of counselor statements, the comparative effectiveness of different ways of giving occupational information, etc. While various research workers have tended to emphasize one or the other kind of research, it would seem that both are necessary if we are to have a scientific base for our work as counselors.

Applications to Counselor Training. Courses and other experiences offered to counselors-in-training may be classified as content, process, or a combination of the two. In the content area may be found most courses in tests and measurements, occupations, abnormal psychology, study of the individual, etc. In the process area are usually found the methods courses and the practicum work. Most counselor-trainers probably tend to emphasize one or the other kind of course because of their own preferences and personalities. Individual differences of this sort certainly seem to be desirable, particularly at the present time, when counseling as a profession is still in a relatively early stage of development. However, it would appear that a certain minimum level of competency in each of the two major areas should be attained by all counselors. One is not a competent counselor who is not well versed in the content tools of his trade—psychological tests, understanding of human behavior, study methods, etc. It seems equally true that one is not a competent counselor who is not skilled in the process tools—those which have to do with helping people to make decisions, to use information, and to use themselves.

A method of analyzing counseling has been described which makes use of the concepts of "content" and "process." The former refers to the "what" of counseling, while the latter deals with the "how." These provide a framework which is useful in examining the work of the counselor and in evaluating his practice and his research.

Both aspects—content and process—seem to be necessary; counseling methods and counseling theories which do not make explicit provision for both content and process aspects are inadequate. The counselor who stops at diagnosis and recommendations may be satisfying the content aspect, but he is not completing the counseling job. Equally incomplete is that counseling which provides an opportunity for emotional growth

yet doesn't bring to the situation the factual data about the counselee and his world which are necessary for adequate resolution of a given problem and for adequate decision making.

The practitioner in counseling, the research worker, and the counselor-trainer may all make use of the content-process approach in planning and evaluating their work.



R. H. Bixler's article discusses the relative merits of employing either a systematic or an eclectic position as the basis for one's counseling procedures. At this stage of development in counseling there is no overwhelming experimental evidence to indicate the superiority of any particular methodology or of an eclectic position. Some feel any approach to be unjustifiable if it is not based upon a systematic point of view, within the framework of one theoretical orientation. The writers do not accept this point of view and maintain that an eclectic position does not preclude the efficient development of a systematic approach. Eclecticism, then, as used in this specific context, implies techniques that are set up on the bases of hypotheses and tested to determine their validity; it is not the random utilization of any particular technique that happens to come to mind.

In considering Bixler's article such questions as the following should be raised: Is there any particular system that can explain behavior change and outcomes of counseling in all different situations? Which is most substantiated by experimental evidence? Are the various systems mutually exclusive or are they complementary to each other? Is it time for a synthesis of systems? Will any one system that can only partially explain counseling phenomena be inadequate as a basis for operation?

The school counselor should consider this discussion in terms of the public school student. To do this, in essence he must analyze the population with which he is dealing, considering particularly their different levels of maturity and development; their institutional setting, and the bases upon which students request treatment or are referred. What implications does such an analysis have for a relatively inflexible utilization of one point of view to be applied to all, compared to an eclectic approach designed to take individual differences into account?

COUNSELING: ECLECTIC OR SYSTEMATIC?

Following the appearance of Rogers' *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, numerous articles advocating eclecticism have appeared, largely in protest against the employment of a systematic point of view in interviewing. In attempting to establish the merits of eclectic counseling, these writers have leaned heavily upon certain fundamental premises which are summarized below.

1. The use of the *appropriate* technique at the *appropriate* moment promises more effective results than rigid adherence to any one method.

2. Selection of the *appropriate* therapy from an "armament of therapies" by a skillful worker on the basis of diagnostic and case history techniques gives greater promise of success than systematic counseling.

3. *No one* method is appropriate to the problems of *all* clients.

Although these premises are undeniably sound, it is well to keep in mind the level at which we now deal with the problems of our clients. Diagnosis of emotional, vocational, and educational problems is exceedingly crude. With a relative degree of certainty, diagnoses such as "alcoholic," "vocational indecision," "behavior problem," or "disturbed" can be made. Diagnosis at the next level (anxiety neurosis, schizophrenia, etc.) becomes more difficult. Yet only the most naive counselors would assume that such symptomatic diagnostic labels determine the method of treatment to be employed, little less the technique for any given moment. When an attempt is made to determine causal relationships ("reading problem arising out of parental rejection," etc.), the experienced counselor is frequently taxed beyond the limit of his skills. It should be remembered that even at this level of diagnosis the counselor has no cri-

teria by which selection of the *appropriate* technique at the *appropriate* moment is feasible. (When etiology can be established, it is often possible, however, to achieve more efficient selection of the appropriate gross method, such as environmental manipulation, versus counseling.)

In the light of our present diagnostic skills, it would seem safe to state that we have no criteria for the selection of techniques at any one point in therapy, nor do we even have criteria by which we can determine which of numerous interview therapies is most effective with any one client.

The use of an "armament of therapies" raises one additional question for those schooled in any systematic approach. The systematist has found that achieving a high degree of skill in the one method he has studied under supervision is quite a task. He is openly appalled at the mere thought of learning to be facile as an analyst at nine o'clock, a client-centered counselor at ten, and an Adlerian at eleven; not to mention the afternoon with Williamson, Horney, Allen, and Hartwell.

The third premise is undoubtedly appropriate. Although the systematist verbalizes the limitations of his method, all too frequently he denies them in practice.

With our present lack of understanding, clinical experience and observation justify certain tentative conclusions:

1. Regardless of the method of counseling employed, success in treatment bears a close relationship to the problem confronting the client. Severe rejection or indulgence pose the most difficult problems of therapy in parent-child relationships, regardless of the therapeutic method. Hysterical personalities usually react favorably to many methods of treatment, while alcoholic and

[From R. H. Bixler, "Counseling: Eclectic or Systematic?" *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 8 (1948): 211-214. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.]

homosexual personalities resist the same therapies. One possible interpretation: It is the client rather than the type of therapy that determines treatment success.

2. There is a lack of evidence to indicate the superiority of any one method.

3. Therapy is largely a nonintellectual process. The resistant child who sits passively through the therapeutic period time after time, the student who is allowed to refuse therapy, and the client who "catharts" get better—all too frequently for any of our pet theories. The writer now has a passive delinquent (in a very resistant way) who reads a magazine during the interview period. He is coming in under court pressure. When environmental changes were suggested to him, he accepted on the condition that he could continue our contacts! He is making constant improvement. Discussing these experiences with other therapists, the writer finds that they can be multiplied many times.

The writer believes the most appropriate interpretation of these data must place the client's personality and the counselor's attitude above methodology. It appears that what the counselor says pales in significance beside how he says it; that is, how he feels toward the client.

This philosophy is not easily translated into counseling action. Furthermore, the concept has little value in supervised training. One has only to imagine how confused student therapists would be if they were told, "The only thing you have to do is accept your clients." Acceptance must be implemented by techniques which are meaningful to the student therapist and facilitate his comfort with the role of accepting his clients

if we are to make constructive strides in imparting our knowledge and understanding to him.

Rogers has attempted to put this process into words. The written word transmits only the intellectual aspects of any technique. Snyder has pointed out that rigid adherence to verbal acceptance without feelings of acceptance results in poor therapeutic gains.

In the light of our present understanding, this does not offer any solution to the choice of methods. The eclectic can easily justify his approach by saying:

When we know so little shouldn't we use every technique and resource possible?

The nondirectivists can parry with:

Since we know so little and what we know tends to indicate that the key lies in the client, why not give the counselor the security of *one* facile approach which minimizes the danger of traumatizing the client and frees the counselor to be sympathetic and understanding? Or must the counselor through continual selection of this or that method which he hopes is appropriate remain on a cold analytical plane?

Although such outpouring of claims and counterclaims based on feeling rather than evidence might appear ridiculous to the casual observer, it is probably a necessary prelude to progress. By following our own bents under the intense stimulation engendered by strong feeling, we hasten the exploration so necessary to the refinement of therapeutic procedures.

in the counselor's response to the client's attitudes and feelings, and (3) the consideration of the attitudes versus content. In considering these dimensions he relates them to "nondirective" and "directive" counseling. This article also cuts across systematic viewpoints by emphasizing a definition of basic elements. Bordin discusses basic differences in the orientations as originally postulated, although some of these differences have become less pronounced in recent years.

In developing an approach to counseling through the three dimensions stated, the author directs his efforts toward substituting for labels such as "nondirective" and "directive" an actual analysis of the operations that make up counseling. This analysis of counseling through its operations rather than on the basis of descriptive labels does much to bring into sharp focus the differences and similarities between the two points of view and, furthermore, it does not arrest the reader at the level of responding to semantic differences. Bordin emphasizes the point that much of the opposition to the various systems has in essence been a function of the semantics involved and has not been based upon an understanding of the system in terms of its assumptions and objectives. The reader might do well to question how much of his own feeling about counseling is based on response to verbal symbols rather than on a clear-cut understanding of the basis for the system.

DIMENSIONS OF THE COUNSELING PROCESS

DIMENSIONS OF COUNSELING PROCESS

We might speak of this process of analysis as that of attempting to construct a picture of the dimensions of the counseling process. In other words, what are the most significant ways in which counseling methods may vary? At this point it may be well to insert the statement that when I speak of counseling methods and the counseling process I have reference to the process of aiding an individual to solve his psychological problems through the medium of interviews. I might add that by psychological problems I have reference to something deeper than

the individual's statement of his reason for seeking help. I have discussed the concept of the psychological problem more fully elsewhere [1]. Time does not permit further discussion of it.

One of the ways in which counselors appear to vary in their methodology is in the amount of responsibility ceded to the client for the solution of his problem. Division of responsibility, then, is one dimension of the process. I am not referring simply to counselors' opinions of how much responsibility should be ceded to the client, but to the actual effect of their counseling methods on the amount of responsibility permitted the client. In overall terms, I have reference to

[From E. S. Bordin, "Dimensions of the Counseling Process," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 4 (1948): 240-244. Reprinted by permission of the *Journal of Clinical Psychology*.]

the degree to which the client is permitted to attack his problems in his own terms, and is permitted to choose his own directions in grappling with his problems. For example, counselors, who in vocational counseling adopt an extreme position of assuming that the primary objective of their counseling is to give the student a prediction of his vocational success and, perhaps, persuade him that the prediction is the best basis for deciding what he should do, might be considered as representative of one extreme of the continuum of responsibility. At the other extreme might be placed those who assume a counselor is a listener, and nothing more.

But these are global statements about this characteristic of the counseling process. What is more important or just as important from the standpoint of research and training is that specific counselor responses can be classified as to the degree of responsibility ceded to the client. For example, the counselor's opening lead "Would you like to tell me what you had on your mind in coming in to see me?" gives more responsibility to the client than the opening lead "I understand that you were referred by Mr. Blank" or "I understand that you came in to the Center asking about taking some tests." The counselor responses, which follow the trend of thought of the client, or when he seems to "run down," suggest to him some topic that he may possibly find helpful to discuss, allow for more client responsibility than those that take responsibility for discussion of a particular topic, even to the point of delimiting it, such as "Did you get along well in the service?"—"What was your service assignment?" I believe there is no need to elaborate on the question of the dimension of responsibility in the interview process, because the general effect of much of the discussion of the nondirectivists has been to focus attention on this particular characteristic of the counseling process. In fact, it is not uncommon for counselors superficially acquainted with these ideas to speak of non-directive counseling as synonymous with not telling the client what to do.

A second dimension of the counseling process is the degree of attention or sensitivity of the counselor's responses to client's attitudes and feelings. Much discussion of counseling, particularly that dealing with the use of tests in the counseling process, seems to proceed on the assumption that the primary technique in counseling is the transmission of information to the client. These discussions seem to assume that clients' psychological problems are solved primarily by giving them information about themselves on the basis of test results, information about their environment or information about psychological facts and principles. Such discussions are likely to minimize the importance of such factors as motivated ignorance, resistance to probing, repression, disguise of motives, and many of the other motivational dynamisms that psychology has inherited from the Freudians and has recently begun to elaborate. Transcripts of interviews by such counselors will show considerable response to the content of the client's remarks, but relatively little response to the attitudes that are expressed in the discussion of this content. For example, a client says "I don't know, maybe it's this fooling around in the Navy that gave me the idea, and I'll get over it you know, and then decide all over again. But I decided I would try and think that out while I was in it (referring to possible choice of medical technology) because my class schedule isn't too different from what it would be if I continued with Chemistry. I'm not wasting any credits one way or another." The counselor who says "You have decided on medical technology because it isn't too far off from Chemistry," is responding primarily to content, whereas a counselor who says "There isn't any special urgency. You feel that there is a chance to explore and to test out whether this new interest is just a temporary one or whether it is going to persist" is responding more to the attitude expressed. This response to attitudes may or may not show itself at the specific time that the attitude is expressed. In some cases the counselor might

take note of the attitude, but continue to respond to content, and then later on attempt to direct the client's attention to the fact that he has a number of different attitudes on the subject.

This last statement lends us to the third dimension of the interview process, and this one seems to be less general than the preceding two in that it deals with variations in types of responses to client attitudes. These responses may vary between two extremes of emphasis, on one hand, the emphasis upon intellectual process of reasoning out the problem, on the other, the emphasis upon stimulating the client to further and deeper expression of his attitudes through such methods as accepting and clarifying responses. For example, a client's high school rank and college aptitude test scores are interpreted as indicating that his most probable achievement in college is slightly above "D," and that out of 100 students like him 70 would fail. He responds to this information by saying "I know that this makes it look bad for me, but I feel that if anyone is interested enough he can really make it. I know I didn't work very hard in high school, but now things are going to be different. I was just a kid in high school, but now I realize that I can't get anywhere without a college education." The counselor who responds to clients' feelings at the intellectual level might say "One of the things a fellow has to learn as he goes along is to adapt himself and his desires to what he is able to do. In the long run he will find that even though he hates to give up things that are out of his reach that he will be happier trying to do things that he is able to do successfully." On the other hand, the counselor who attempts to maintain the interchange at the level of emotional expression might respond with something like this, "Even though the odds are against you, you feel determined to try it." At one end of this continuum the counselor is trying to help the client develop insight by stimulating him to ideational exploration of his motivation, saying to him in effect, "You are making a

mistake in your thinking and this is why." At the other end of the continuum the counselor is primarily concerned with stimulating the client toward exploration of his attitudes and toward expression of such attitudes on the assumption that it will lead to insights which will make it possible for the individual to think clearly and arrive at the best decision.

CONCLUSIONS

What happens to such terms as "directive," "nondirective," "counselor-centered," "client-centered," when these three dimensions of the counseling process are substituted? If, for example, we took the views of Rogers and Williamson, which often are cited as examples of these two extremes, we would find that Rogers was at one extreme in tending to cede considerable responsibility to the client, whereas Williamson would probably fall more toward the mid-point in ceding responsibility. In regard to sensitivity to client attitude, Rogers and Williamson would probably not be very far apart. Both of them express considerable concern with motivational factors in the counseling process. On the third dimension, involving the degree of stimulation of intellectual versus emotional response on the part of the client I would expect them to tend toward opposite ends of the pole.

I believe the time is ripe to discard these argumentative terms and substitute descriptive ones, such as those which have been presented in this paper, degree of responsibility, degree of sensitivity to attitudes, type of response to attitudes. The value of such a substitution, as a means of increasing counselors' awareness of their procedures by decreasing their awareness of their egos, has already been suggested. However, it also has implication for research and evaluation in counseling. Rogers' students, particularly Porter, Snyder, and Raimy, have made excellent contributions to the methodology of analyzing interview procedures, but their re-

sults have lacked generalization because they were predicated upon the assumption of one continuum in counseling methods. For example, there is no allowance for study of effects of interpretive or intellectual responses which vary in responsibility or which vary in context of greater or less attention to expression of attitudes versus content. Perhaps it would be found that mild interpretive or intellectual responses, such as, "I wonder if your fear of these situations is related to your feelings about your father," or "Perhaps it would help to search for some connection between your feelings of embarrassment and your feelings about your brothers," are very effective when intro-

duced in a context of counselor responsiveness to attitudes at an expressive level. There is a need for studies in which there is a systematic variation of these three characteristics of interview procedures. Perhaps I should close by being sufficiently self-critical to suggest that there is a need for validation and possible expansion of this arm chair analysis of the characteristics of counseling methods.

REFERENCE

1. BORDIN, E. S. Diagnosis in counseling and psychotherapy. *Educ. Psychol. Measur.*, 6 (1946), 169-184.

•IX•

Counseling: Points of View

20. CLIENT-CENTERED COUNSELING

21. CLINICAL COUNSELING

22. ECLECTIC COUNSELING

IN the first articles of Part Three, counseling has been explored in terms of its basic commonalities; emphasis has been upon similarities and possibilities for synthesis. The potential for an eclectic approach, an approach which utilizes the techniques and understandings from different systems, has been examined.

At this point it becomes appropriate to examine the systematic points of view that have been selected for inclusion in this text and to note that there are other counseling and psychotherapeutic systems that are not included. As a rationale for including a general review of psychotherapeutic theories in a discussion of psychological counseling, Bordin makes the following statement:¹

Psychological counseling is herein treated as the application of a general theory of psychotherapy to the special conditions and purposes which surround this particular enterprise. Therefore, a general review of psychotherapeutic theories and their applications to counseling is undertaken.

In essence, a similar rationale underlies inclusion of the selections listed in Chapter IX. It is not the intent of the editors to equate the terms counse-

¹ Edward S. Bordin, *Psychological Counseling* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955), p. 102.

ing and psychotherapy, or to assume that the operations which make up counseling and psychotherapy are the same. The basic assumption is that psychological counseling, as it develops in the public schools, must be grounded in general, underlying principles of psychotherapy. The school counselor must select from systems of psychotherapy those aspects which have most application to psychological counseling in public schools. Such selection and adaptation is a recurring theme throughout this text. However, to make intelligent selections and adaptations, school counselors must be familiar with basic points of view of those systems which in the final analysis seem to have most utility for public school counseling. It is to that end that the following articles have been included.

Before presenting separate articles, a few comments for the purpose of indicating Rogers' original position and developing some comparisons with the directive point of view are appropriate. The reader can use this summary as a referent in considering the articles presented to increase his understanding of the development and modification of the two positions and to enable him to understand the positions as they now exist. The factors to be considered here will be dealt with again in subsequent articles on counseling.

The basic rationale underlying the emphasis being given to Rogerian counseling is the fact that Rogers' point of view has had a great impact upon current thinking in counseling. Actually, few counselors consider themselves to be Rogerian; few subscribe completely to Rogers' methodology. Yet some of his basic philosophical assumptions and techniques have crept into much of modern-day counseling, giving an importance to his ideas that is disproportionate to the number of counselors who are actually client centered in orientation. This effect is being felt even in the schools where a one-to-one application of Rogerian principles is probably somewhat limited.

Investigation into the nature of "nondirective" and "directive" counseling tends to reveal that the original formulations and symbols have been to various degrees modified and refined; different connotations and meanings have been given to some concepts, some of the descriptive terms are gradually being eliminated from professional use, and other new ones are being added. An example is to be found in the use of the term "nondirective" by Rogers.² In 1942 he utilized this term to describe his counseling frame of reference and to contrast his viewpoint with other extant systems; however, in his latest publications the term "nondirective" is apparently not being used. There has been a shift toward substitution of the term "client centered." The proposition that terminology is often at the root of conflicting concepts about counseling was explored in the previous selection. The important point is that a position should not be identified with its historical antecedents but should be evaluated on the basis of its current status.

A basic dimension upon which Rogerian theory seems to differ from the generally "directive" points of view is that of the relative responsibility of the

² Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), p. 115.

counselor and counselee for making decisions during the course of counseling. (Dimension of responsibility as a basis for an approach to counseling was referred to by Bordin in Section 19.) Rogers and the nondirectivists (client-centered counselors) take the position that the client has the basic responsibility for making all decisions and that the counselor must strive to maintain his role as a catalyst and non-decision maker. On the other hand, the directivists (clinical counselors) in varying degrees, related to the time at which the statements are being made and the particular variation of the point of view, feel that the counselor must accept a share of the responsibility for making decisions. It would be unfair, however, to imply that the directivists advocate at the present time that the counselor should actually make any basic decisions for the client. Most directivists accept the position that the final decision-making responsibility must lie with the client, but they hold that the counselor has a responsibility, by virtue of his superior experience, background, presumed insight, and understanding of human nature, to present reasonable alternatives to implement the client's decision making.

A second point over which client-centered counselors take issue with the directivists is the importance given to the past experience and background of the counselee. The client-centered counselor places far less emphasis upon the client's history than does the directivist. This has implications for practice with respect to the relative weight placed upon the interview, the case history, and the diagnosis. Obviously, if a great deal of importance is placed on the understanding of related factors in a client's past experience, then a case history is in order, and it is appropriate to the extent that it is complete and detailed. A case history plus the understandings developed in the interview enable the counselor to make a diagnosis, and he can proceed on those premises. The client-centered counselor does not consider the diagnosis and case history particularly useful in enabling him to assist the counselee further, and he certainly does not accept the position that there must be a diagnosis from which he can direct the course of the interviews.

Rogers³ felt that the case study contributes to the mental set of the client by conveying to him the implication that in return for the extensive submitting of material, the counselor will use it to effect a solution to the client's problem. This handicaps the client-centered counselor because the client may be unwilling to take any lead, and when the counselor tries to indicate his role, the client may feel that the counselor is deliberately withholding answers. Furthermore, Rogers feels that, "In a true counseling process, the individual is much more likely to reveal the genuinely dynamic forces in his experience than in a history-taking process."⁴ The case study is not completely excluded from client-centered methodology, but this technique is used only to the extent that it represents a need in the perceptual field of the client.

The two differences just discussed will be treated in much more detail in the following articles.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

20. CLIENT-CENTERED COUNSELING

The first selection in this section, by Nicholas Hobbs, is a current exposition of the operations involved in the client-centered (Rogerian nondirective) counseling method. A further comparison with Rogers' original postulations might be appropriate at this point. Rogers designated his interpretation of the term "counseling" in part by contrasting his position on counseling with the currently existing conceptions. He concurred that counseling is not the only method of treatment of an individual.¹ Although he recognized the possibility for a tenuous distinction between the terms "counseling" and "psychotherapy," he stated that "The most intensive and successful counseling is indistinguishable from intensive and successful psychotherapy."²

Rogers designated the following as "characteristic steps in the therapeutic (counseling) process."³

1. The individual comes for help. . . .
2. The helping situation is usually defined. . . .
3. The counselor encourages free expression of feelings in regard to the problem. . . .
4. The counselor accepts, recognizes, and clarifies these negative feelings. . . .
5. When the individual's negative feelings have been quite fully expressed, they are followed by the faint and tentative expressions of the positive impulses which make for growth. . . .
6. The counselor accepts and recognizes the positive feelings which are expressed, in the same manner in which he has accepted and recognized the negative feelings. . . .
7. This insight, this understanding of the self and acceptance of the self, is the next important aspect of the whole process. . . .
8. Intermingled with the process of insight is a process of clarification of possible decisions, possible courses of action. . . .
9. . . . the initiation of minute, but highly significant, positive actions. . . .
10. . . . development of further insight. . . .
11. . . . increasingly integrated positive action on the part of the client. . . .
12. . . . decreasing need for help, and recognition on the part of the client that the relationship must end. . . .

¹ Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), p. 115.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-45.

Attention should also be directed toward designation, by Hobbs and Rogers, of activities that are external to client-centered therapy, and which to some extent differentiate the client-centered point of view from other systems.

Rogers⁴ eliminates the utilization of advice as counseling technique, rejecting it as being inconsistent with the right of the individual to make his own decisions. It is also rejected for practical purposes on the assumption that the person who has a tendency to act independently of others will not accept the advice if it is not consistent with his own perception of the situation; and the person who already has a tendency toward dependence upon others for his decision making will receive reinforcement in this unfortunate habit, thus increasing his dependency and decreasing his personal effectiveness. Rogers says at another point:

The nondirective viewpoint places a high value on the right of every individual to be psychologically independent and to maintain his psychological integrity. . . . If the client achieves through the counseling experience sufficient insight to understand his relation to the reality situation, he can choose his method of adapting to reality which has the highest values for him.⁵

Intellectualized interpretation is another aspect of traditional counseling considered by the client centered as having only limited value in providing the insight and self-understanding necessary for effective adjustment and the fully functioning self.⁶ Intellectual interpretation, says the client-centered counselor, does not consider the main reason for functional disability—the emotions and feelings of the counselee which prevent him from objectively analyzing and intellectualizing his own situation. Rogers says that:

. . . maladjustments are not failures in knowing, but that knowledge is ineffective because it is blocked by the emotional satisfactions which the individual achieves through his present maladjustment. . . . This newer therapy endeavors to work as directly as possible in the realm of feeling and emotion rather than attempting to achieve emotional reorganization through an intellectual approach.⁷

CLIENT-CENTERED PSYCHOTHERAPY

Although Rogers should be recognized as the person responsible for the conception of client-centered therapy and as a central figure in its development, the influence of

[From Nicholas Hobbs, "Client-centered Psychotherapy," *Six Approaches to Psychotherapy*, New York: Henry Holt, 1955, pp. 11-17. Reprinted by permission of the author and publisher.]

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

others who are seldom identified as contributors to the theory should also be recognized. Studies of the history of ideas that have immediate impact, such as client-centered therapy has had, usually reveal a cultural readiness for the idea; other thinkers have created intellectual disaffections and expectancies, and consequently many workers are ready to abandon blunted tools and adopt new ones. The widespread acceptance of client-centered therapy, especially by psychologists, suggests a widespread readiness for such a formulation. In a scholarly article, Raskin has traced some of the concepts that were antecedent to Rogers's thinking and that prepared psychologists for his ideas. That the ideas have impact is clear from an overview of the clinical journals for the past decade. Many psychotherapists have adopted client-centered therapy; others have modified their viewpoints to incorporate the features that appeal to them; and still others have registered its influence by their vigorous, and sometimes heated, opposition. Client-centered therapy is not an idea that can be ignored.

Today client-centered therapy is often contrasted with psychoanalysis, and some of the clear differences between the two viewpoints are evident in this volume. However, in broader perspective their close kinship is evident. Rosenzweig has correctly classified both approaches as "active" and "dynamic," as opposed to the passive therapies, and Raskin points out some of the "nondirective" inclinations in Freud's work. Some of Freud's emphasis on the patient as central in the therapeutic process, as well as his reservation about the idea, is evident in the following quotation:

What subject matter the treatment begins with is on the whole immaterial, whether the patient's life story, with a history of the illness or with recollections of childhood; but in any case the patient must be left to talk, and the choice of the subject left to him. One says to him, therefore, "Before I can say anything to you, I must know a

great deal about you; please tell me what you know about yourself."

Freud established a number of ideas that have either been directly accepted in client-centered thinking or accepted with modifications—the modifications often being in the direction of making a more rigorous application of an idea stated tentatively or with reservation by Freud. Among shared and partly shared ideas are the use of the interview as a therapeutic instrument; the importance of unconscious motivations and of early childhood experience; the central role of anxiety in neurosis and in therapy; the critical nature of interpretation, resistance, and transference in the therapeutic process (viewed differently by the two schools, of course); and the importance of a nonmoralizing attitude on the part of the therapist.

It would be something of a tour de force to make Freud out a "nondirectivist," and such is not intended here. We know that Freud could be domineering, dogmatic, and quite impatient with the reluctance of people to accept his revelations of the truth about them. On the other hand, it seems important to point out common elements in Freudian psychoanalysis and client-centered therapy, since the two are often described in antithetical terms.

Freud's bold and insightful investigations yielded our first substantial theory of personality and our first effective technique of psychotherapy. The men who worked closely with Freud in the development of his theories broke away from him, one by one, and fashioned modifications of psychoanalysis that have followed diverging courses in their subsequent development. Otto Rank was one of these men, and it is through him and his direct followers, Jessie Taft and Frederick Allen, that one can trace the relationship of Rogers's thinking to the original thinking of Freud. What Rogers made of Rankian ideas and what he added of his own constitute an impressive achievement that we shall examine in detail. Here are some of the concepts that provide a starting point for client-centered therapy.

Rank recognized the positive, creative, directional nature of man's striving. He spoke of "will" and rejected the notion of man pulled and pushed by impersonal forces. The neurotic is at an impasse; he is bound by conflict of positive will and fear of the consequences of willing. To will without guilt, to be oneself without fear, is the mark of health. Therapy seeks to free the person from this conflict, to assist him to gain acceptance of himself in all his uniqueness and with all his ambivalences.

To this end Rank put the patient unequivocably at the center of the therapeutic process. The therapist is available as "ego-helper"; he works on those aspects of self "felt by the patient to be disturbing"; he is concerned not so much with the past as with the present, not so much with the content of the patient's life as with the patient's immediate experience of living in relationship to the therapist; he avoids giving love, since this would create dependency; he makes no attempt to "educate," since this would intensify the neurotic conflict; he utilizes the time element in therapy as symbolic of life's boundaries against which protest (counter-will) is infantile and which demands an affirmative approach to living.

Real psychotherapy is not concerned primarily with adaptation to any kind of reality, but with the adjustment of the patient to himself, that is, with the acceptance of his own individuality or of that part of his personality which he has formerly denied. (Rank)

Jessie Taft translated Rank's work and added richly to his ideas. One of her important contributions is the detailed reporting of two cases dealing with children, a procedure so often neglected that it is frequently impossible to tell whether the authors of therapeutic theories actually put their ideas into action. Taft elaborated on Rank's idea concerning time in the therapeutic process as a prototype of life's limits:

. . . one might fairly define relationship therapy as a process in which

the individual finally learns to utilize the allotted hour from beginning to end without undue fear, resistance, resentment, or greediness. When he can take it and also leave it without denying its value, without trying to escape it completely or keep it forever because of this very value, in so far has he learned to live, to accept this fragment of time in and for itself, and strange as it may seem, if he can live this hour he has in his grasp the secret of all hours, he has conquered life and time for the moment and in principle.

Frederick Allen elaborated on the nature of the relationship between the client and the therapist and gave explicit statement to concepts that also emerge in client-centered therapy.*

I feel strongly that it is more important today than ever before to affirm with clarity . . . a belief in the individual's capacity to be responsible for his own direction—within the structure of the culture in which he lives The therapeutic experience is an episode in the journey of some children toward realization of the potentialities that lie within themselves The urge to grow that is universal in all living matter provides motivation for the journey The therapeutic point of view of which I have written . . . has its roots deep in a concept of individual responsibility. Its recurrent theme is that individuals can be helped to help themselves.

Taft and Allen write with conviction and power of a philosophy closely related to the client-centered point of view. It is to their credit, too, that they reported extensively what was said and done in therapy

* Allen's book on therapy with children was published in the same year as Rogers's *Counseling and Psychotherapy*. Apparently Rogers did not draw so much from Allen as both drew from common sources.

sessions. In reading accounts of their therapy, however, one is disappointed in the wide gap between their theory and their practice. Considerable responsibility for the direction of the interview is retained by the therapist; there is probing for material; interpretation is frequently employed. It is as though Taft and Allen are inspired in their theory but unable to conform to its rigorous discipline in the therapy room. They frequently fall into more traditional ways of treatment. As Raskin points out, Rogers has been able to translate (as well as to extend) the philosophical concepts of individual responsibility, of respect for the integrity of the individual, and of confidence in the capacity of the individual to be responsible for himself into a therapeutic procedure that is consistent in what the therapist does and is, in large measure, standard among therapists.

The work of Rogers and others who have contributed to the development of client-centered therapy is influenced by psychoanalytic theory, as described above, and also by the experimental tradition of quantitative psychology. Perhaps one of Rogers's major contributions to the field of psychotherapy is his initial and continuing emphasis on the importance of quantitative investigations of the therapeutic process. The many researches designed to test hypotheses pertinent to client-centered theory have given us new insights into the process of therapy from one point of view. Other points of view, derived largely from clinical experience, need similar verification and correction through a quantitative check on their hypotheses. Through quantification and experimental check of many approaches to therapy, guided always, of course, by clinical intelligence, we may hope to arrive at understandings that transcend by far the best formulations of any current theory.

SOME OPERATIONS

In terms of specific operations, without consideration of rationale, what does the

client-centered therapist do? Such an operational description of procedures, astringent as it is, may be more helpful at the outset than an attempt to convey a feeling for the climate of client-centered interviews or to describe the attitudes and feelings of the therapist, although many believe that these tangible aspects of relationship are more critical than the specific acts of the therapist. The following acts appear to be characteristic of the behavior of the client-centered therapist:

1. The therapist attempts to understand what the client is saying with reference to content, feeling, and import to the client and to communicate this understanding to the client.
2. The therapist interprets what the client has said by offering a condensation or a synthesis of the expressed feelings.
3. The therapist simply accepts what the client has said with an implication that what he has said has been understood.
4. The therapist defines for the client, at moments when the issue is relevant from the client's point of view, the nature of the therapeutic relationship, the expectancies of the situation, and the limits of the therapist-client relationship.
5. The therapist attempts to convey to the client, through gesture, posture, and facial expression, as well as through words, a sense of acceptance and of confidence in the ability of the client to handle his problems.
6. The therapist answers questions and gives information when such responses are relevant to treatment, but he may refrain from giving information when the issue of dependency seems involved in the question.
7. The therapist actively participates in the therapy session, keeping alert, attempting to pick up nuances of feeling, interrupting the client if necessary to make certain that the therapist is understanding what the client is saying and feeling.

It is necessary to mention some of the things that the client-centered therapist does not do, especially since they are things that people rather often expect any therapist to do. The client-centered therapist does not

- interpret the behavior of the client with reference to hypotheses held by the therapist or to any theory of personality dynamics.
- attempt to promote insight directly.
- advise, moralize, praise, blame, teach, or plan programs of activities.
- complete a formal diagnostic study of the individual prior to or in the course of therapy.
- ask probing questions or suggest areas for exploration.

DIAGNOSIS IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

Rogers's Position

With reference to the function of diagnosis in psychotherapy, Rogers has taken a position radically different from that prescribed by tradition and has precipitated controversy and provided critics with a favorite issue with which to do battle. It seems important to recognize that Rogers's position is maturely held, that rational considerations prompted him to take a new viewpoint, and that therapists of many persuasions may gain more from a receptive study of his position than from an outraged rejection of it. The issue may be defined simply. Following medical tradition, in which treatment is built upon diagnosis, some therapists maintain that psychological treatment must also proceed upon an identification of causes and a selection of therapeutic measures indicated by a diagnostic formulation. Rogers, on the other hand, maintains "that psychological diagnosis as usually understood is unnecessary for psychotherapy, and may actually be a detriment to the therapeutic process." What are some of the reasons for his departure from tradition on this issue?

Points of Departure

First it should be noted that most therapists recognize that psychological treatment is different from medical treatment in that there can be no clear line of demarcation between diagnosis and therapy. The process

of diagnosis will affect the client, favorably, one would hope, but possibly unfavorably, and the process of therapy will presumably affect the diagnostic formulation. Basically, what is involved is an ongoing relationship between two people; the designation of certain aspects of the relationship as "diagnostic" and of other aspects as "therapeutic" is arbitrary at best. Recognition of this relationship leads quickly to the question of what good or what harm can come from the procedures that are traditionally designated as diagnostic.

Rogers maintains that little good can accrue to the client from the fact that the therapist has arrived at a formulation of his problems because it is the client who must arrive at this formulation and experience its meaningfulness in his own terms. The issue rests largely upon who is to do the diagnosing. Rogers thinks that the client must do it:

Therapy is basically the experiencing of the inadequacies in old ways of perceiving, the experiencing of new and more accurate perceptions, and the recognition of significant relationships between perceptions The constructive forces which bring about altered perceptions . . . reside primarily in the client and probably cannot come from the outside.

The therapist cannot speed the process by a prior discernment of the problem. To do so may make the therapist feel good, but it cannot make the client feel better.

Rogers also maintains that the client may be harmed if the therapist attempts to follow the diagnostic-treatment pattern. To Rogers, the attitudes that go along with diagnosis by the therapist (as opposed to diagnosis by the client) are incompatible with attitudes that are essential to a constructive therapeutic relationship. The therapist becomes the evaluator of initial status, of progress, and of final outcome, thus assuming a responsibility that should be left with the client

if the goal of therapy is to promote maturity and self-responsibility.

Rogers does not accept the notion, which might be used to counter this position, that some abrogation of responsibility, some initial fostering of dependency, is necessary for therapy; indeed, he would argue that such a stratagem only prolongs therapy by postponing for the client the problem of learning to be responsible for himself. And Rogers contends further that the therapist has too much to do in simply understanding what it is that the client is trying to work through to be simultaneously formulating queries designed to aid in arriving at a diagnosis.

Additional Considerations

There are some other considerations less fundamental than those stated above. Psychological diagnosis is not highly reliable and provides a most tenuous and uncertain basis for the kinds of judgments made by therapists with a diagnostic orientation. One suspects that the relevance of these judgments to therapy is illusory, since antithetical judgments often seem equally beneficent in therapy, suggesting the operation of a third factor that has nothing to do with the precision of the diagnosis or the relevance of the judgment. Further, there is no evidence that we have therapeutic techniques appropriate to the differential diagnosis, except for gross differentiations required for interventional therapies, which involve shock, drugs, or surgery. And even here there is much to be desired with respect to precision. It seems likely that therapists contribute more to the variations in techniques than do the clients with whom they work. Therapists tend to carry on the kind of therapy they are accustomed to with all clients.

A strong emphasis on diagnosis has other implications germane to this discussion. In case conferences there is often a preoccupation with diagnosis; conjecture about etiology and psychodynamics offers a free-wheeling situation that can be, and often is, enjoyed as a kind of intellectual parlor game.

In this game the prestige of the advocate of a point of view is likely to carry greater weight than his perspicacity, and the issues are likely to seem settled when he has made his pronouncement, although no one has addressed himself to the question of how the diagnosis is supposed to help the client. But these arguments are not unanswerable. Someday we may have more reliable psychological diagnosis; we may be able to relate diagnosis to therapy, and we may learn to keep the good of the client central in our discussions of therapeutic relationships.

APPLICABILITY OF CLIENT-CENTERED THERAPY

Closely related to the problem of diagnosis is the problem of identifying the people for whom client-centered therapy would be most helpful. Probably because of the uncertainties in psychological diagnosis, the question remains unanswered in a fashion that we may hope someday to see. Rogers's current position may be summed up about as follows: There are no established contraindications to the application of the client-centered approach, and, in the hands of a trained person, there is nothing to suggest that harm may be done to an individual, regardless of his psychological status, that the relationship established in the client-centered therapy is the kind of relationship likely to be experienced as sustaining and liberating not only in psychotherapy but in other life relationships as well, that the only way to answer the question of whether a specific individual can profit from client-centered therapy is to give him an opportunity to work with an experienced therapist.

In the first book to present client-centered therapy eight criteria for counseling were given. These required that the prospective client be under tension, that he have some capacity to cope with the circumstances of his life, that he have an opportunity to work regularly with a counselor, that he be able to express his conflicts verbally or through other media, that he be "reasonably inde-

pendent . . . of close family control," that he be "reasonably free from excessive instabilities, particularly of an organic nature," that he be dull-normal or above in intelligence, and that he be of suitable age—"roughly from ten to sixty."

Today Rogers feels that these criteria are of little value. For one thing, they induce a diagnostic orientation not helpful in therapy, as described above. Further, the validity of some of the restrictions has been disproved by subsequent clinical experience. Apparently client-centered therapy has been effective with a wide range of people and problems: from two-year-olds to adults of sixty-five; from adequately functioning individuals to neurotics and psychotics; with people of all classes and of wide ranges in intelligence; with people who are physically healthy and people who are physically ill.

Further clinical experience and research should give us better understanding of the relationship between personality structure and ability to respond to client-centered treatment. The concept of individual differences, confirmed time and again in psychological observations, may certainly be counted on to operate with reference to the appro-

priateness of client-centered therapy for various people. From accumulated experience, one thing is clear: like other therapies, client-centered therapy helps some people a great deal, others somewhat, and still others not at all.

The problem is to identify the factors that are related to differential responsiveness to various kinds of therapy. There is some evidence that intrapunitive males respond well to the client-centered experience and that aggressively dependent people are difficult to work with from this orientation. But data are meager and the broad problem hardly touched at present. One fairly plausible conclusion is that the dimensions of personality that are finally found to be significantly related to responsiveness to different types of therapy will probably bear only slight relationship to conventional nosological groupings. The most profitable research in this field in the near future will probably not be directed toward such questions as Will client-centered therapy work with psychotics? but toward an identification of the variables that operate in therapeutic situations and a relating of these variables to some broader theory of how people learn.



The following article is one of the most recent statements that Carl Rogers has addressed to the basic propositions underlying client-centered psychotherapy. Since the initial impact of his *Counseling and Psychotherapy* in 1942, many counselors, particularly his students, have subscribed to the client-centered point of view and have done much to expand the body of knowledge and techniques. However, Rogers has remained the acknowledged leader in the field.

The reader should not be surprised to see that in this article the term "psychotherapy" is used in preference to "counseling"; Rogers' previously quoted statement prepares us for this: "The most intensive and successful counseling is indistinguishable from intensive and successful psychotherapy." The relationship between the two and the implications for the school counselor have been discussed in Section 19.

In the following selection, Rogers states what he considers to be the necessary and sufficient conditions of therapeutic personality change—in other words, the necessary and sufficient conditions of successful counseling. The reader may be interested at this point in comparing the more recent statement with that of the 1942 work to determine how the assumptions underlying client-centered theory as conceived today relate to the original conceptualization.

Among Rogers' designation of conditions, the first to be noted is that of the relationship which, as previously discussed, is considered by most counselors to be common to all counseling systems. Emphasis placed upon conditions such as the emotional state of the client, unconditional positive regard, and communication of empathy to the client by the counselor makes it apparent that feeling-tone, attitudes, and emotional content still constitute the heart of the system.

Rogers discusses several significant omissions, one of which is the question of whether the conditions are valid only for a particular type of client. His view is that he has conceptualized conditions which seem to him to be generally applicable within the structural frameworks of most therapies as they now exist, including client-centered therapy.

The issue of the professional training and background of the counselor is raised in his conception of the psychotherapeutic relationship being not completely dissimilar in kind from the relationship that might exist among friends.

It is worthwhile at this point to consider the possibilities for application of client-centered principles to other activities than counseling. Application of these techniques to the classroom has been the subject of texts and periodical materials. The underlying assumption is that there is much in client-centered theory which, when applied by the teacher in the classroom, will enable the youngsters to develop consistent with their internal drives toward adjustment and well-being. It would be well for the reader to analyze the point of view in terms of its possible applications to classroom practice and the limitations thereon.

THE NECESSARY AND SUFFICIENT CONDITIONS OF THERAPEUTIC PERSONALITY CHANGE

For many years I have been engaged in psychotherapy with individuals in distress. In recent years I have found myself increas-

ingly concerned with the process of abstracting from that experience the general principles which appear to be involved in it. I

[From Carl R. Rogers, "The Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Therapeutic Personality Change," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 21 (1957): 95-103. Reprinted by permission of the author and the *Journal of Consulting Psychology*.]

have endeavored to discover any orderliness, any unity which seems to inhere in the subtle, complex tissue of interpersonal relationship in which I have so constantly been immersed in therapeutic work. One of the current products of this concern is an attempt to state, in formal terms, a theory of psychotherapy, of personality, and of interpersonal relationships which will encompass and contain the phenomena of my experience. What I wish to do in this paper is to take one very small segment of that theory, spell it out more completely, and explore its meaning and usefulness.

THE PROBLEM

The question to which I wish to address myself is this: Is it possible to state, in terms which are clearly definable and measurable, the psychological conditions which are both necessary and sufficient to bring about constructive personality change? Do we, in other words, know with any precision those elements which are essential if psychotherapeutic change is to ensue?

Before proceeding to the major task let me dispose very briefly of the second portion of the question. What is meant by such phrases as "psychotherapeutic change," "constructive personality change"? This problem also deserves deep and serious consideration, but for the moment let me suggest a common-sense type of meaning upon which we can perhaps agree for purposes of this paper. By these phrases is meant: change in the personality structure of the individual, at both surface and deeper levels, in a direction which clinicians would agree means greater integration, less internal conflict, more energy utilizable for effective living; change in behavior away from behaviors generally regarded as immature and toward behaviors regarded as mature. This brief description may suffice to indicate the kind of change for which we are considering the preconditions. It may also suggest the ways in which this criterion of change may be determined.

THE CONDITIONS

As I have considered my own clinical experience and that of my colleagues, together with the pertinent research which is available, I have drawn out several conditions which seem to me to be *necessary* to initiate constructive personality change, and which, taken together, appear to be *sufficient* to inaugurate that process. As I have worked on this problem I have found myself surprised at the simplicity of what has emerged. The statement which follows is not offered with any assurance as to its correctness, but with the expectation that it will have the value of any theory, namely that it states or implies a series of hypotheses which are open to proof or disproof, thereby clarifying and extending our knowledge of the field.

Since I am not, in this paper, trying to achieve suspense, I will state at once, in severely rigorous and summarized terms, the six conditions which I have come to feel are basic to the process of personality change. The meaning of a number of the terms is not immediately evident, but will be clarified in the explanatory sections which follow. It is hoped that this brief statement will have much more significance to the reader when he has completed the paper. Without further introduction let me state the basic theoretical position.

For constructive personality change to occur, it is necessary that these conditions exist and continue over a period of time:

1. Two persons are in psychological contact.
2. The first, whom we shall term the client, is in a state of incongruence, being vulnerable or anxious.
3. The second person, whom we shall term the therapist, is congruent or integrated in the relationship.
4. The therapist experiences unconditional positive regard for the client.
5. The therapist experiences an empathic understanding of the client's internal frame

of reference and endeavors to communicate this experience to the client.

6. The communication to the client of the therapist's empathetic understanding and unconditional positive regard is to a minimal degree achieved.

No other conditions are necessary. If these six conditions exist, and continue over a period of time, this is sufficient. The process of constructive personality change will follow.

A Relationship

The first condition specifies that a minimal relationship, a psychological contact, must exist. I am hypothesizing that significant positive personality change does not occur except in a relationship. This is of course an hypothesis, and it may be disproved.

Conditions 2 through 6 define the characteristics of the relationship which are regarded as essential by defining the necessary characteristics of each person in the relationship. All that is intended by this first condition is to specify that the two people are to some degree in contact, that each makes some perceived difference in the experiential field of the other. Probably it is sufficient if each makes some "subceived" difference, even though the individual may not be consciously aware of this impact. Thus it might be difficult to know whether a catatonic patient perceives a therapist's presence as making a difference to him—a difference of any kind—but it is almost certain that at some organic level he does sense this difference.

Except in such a difficult borderline situation as that just mentioned, it would be relatively easy to define this condition in operational terms and thus determine, from a hard-boiled research point of view, whether the condition does, or does not, exist. The simplest method of determination involves simply the awareness of both client and therapist. If each is aware of being in personal or psychological contact with the other, then this condition is met.

This first condition of therapeutic change

is such a simple one that perhaps it should be labeled an assumption or a precondition in order to set it apart from those that follow. Without it, however, the remaining items would have no meaning, and that is the reason for including it.

The State of the Client

It was specified that it is necessary that the client be "in a state of incongruence, being vulnerable or anxious." What is the meaning of these terms?

Incongruence is a basic construct in the theory we have been developing. It refers to a discrepancy between the actual experience of the organism and the self picture of the individual insofar as it represents that experience. Thus a student may experience, at a total or organismic level, a fear of the university and of examinations which are given on the third floor of a certain building, since these may demonstrate a fundamental inadequacy in him. Since such a fear of his inadequacy is decidedly at odds with his concept of himself, this experience is represented (distortedly) in his awareness as an unreasonable fear of climbing stairs in this building, or any building, and soon an unreasonable fear of crossing the open campus. Thus there is a fundamental discrepancy between the experienced meaning of the situation as it registers in his organism and the symbolic representation of that experience in awareness in such a way that it does not conflict with the picture he has of himself. In this case to admit a fear of inadequacy would contradict the picture he holds of himself; to admit incomprehensible fears does not contradict his self concept.

Another instance would be the mother who develops vague illnesses whenever her only son makes plans to leave home. The actual desire is to hold on to her only source of satisfaction. To perceive this in awareness would be inconsistent with the picture she holds of herself as a good mother. Illness, however, is consistent with her self concept, and the experience is symbolized in this distorted fashion. Thus again there is a basic

incongruence between the self as perceived (in this case as an ill mother needing attention) and the actual experience (in this case the desire to hold on to her son).

When the individual has no awareness of such incongruence in himself, then he is merely vulnerable to the possibility of anxiety and disorganization. Some experience might occur so suddenly or so obviously that the incongruence could not be denied. Therefore, the person is vulnerable to such a possibility.

If the individual dimly perceives such an incongruence in himself, then a tension state occurs which is known as anxiety. The incongruence need not be sharply perceived. It is enough that it is subceived—that is, discriminated as threatening to the self without any awareness of the content of that threat. Such anxiety is often seen in therapy as the individual approaches awareness of some element of his experience which is in sharp contradiction to his self concept.

It is not easy to give precise operational definition to this second of the six conditions, yet to some degree this has been achieved. Several research workers have defined the self concept by means of a Q sort by the individual of a list of self-referent items. This gives us an operational picture of the self. The total experiencing of the individual is more difficult to capture. Chodorkoff has defined it as a Q sort made by a clinician who sorts the same self-referent items independently, basing his sorting on the picture he has obtained of the individual from projective tests. His sort thus includes unconscious as well as conscious elements of the individual's experience, thus representing (in an admittedly imperfect way) the totality of the client's experience. The correlation between these two sortings gives a crude operational measure of incongruence between self and experience, low or negative correlation representing of course a high degree of incongruence.

The Therapist's Genuineness in the Relationship

The third condition is that the therapist should be, within the confines of this rela-

tionship, a congruent, genuine, integrated person. It means that within the relationship he is freely and deeply himself, with his actual experience accurately represented by his awareness of himself. It is the opposite of presenting a façade, either knowingly or unknowingly.

It is not necessary (nor is it possible) that the therapist be a paragon who exhibits this degree of integration, of wholeness, in every aspect of his life. It is sufficient that he is accurately himself in this hour of this relationship, that in this basic sense he is what he actually is, in this moment of time.

It should be clear that this includes being himself even in ways which are not regarded as ideal for psychotherapy. His experience may be "I am afraid of this client" or "My attention is so focused on my own problems that I can scarcely listen to him." If the therapist is not denying these feelings to awareness, but is able freely to be them (as well as being his other feelings), then the condition we have stated is met.

It would take us too far afield to consider the puzzling matter as to the degree to which the therapist overtly communicates this reality in himself to the client. Certainly the aim is not for the therapist to express or talk out his own feelings, but primarily that he should not be deceiving the client as to himself. At times he may need to talk out some of his own feelings (either to the client, or to a colleague or supervisor) if they are standing in the way of the two following conditions.

It is not too difficult to suggest an operational definition for this third condition. We resort again to Q technique. If the therapist sorts a series of items relevant to the relationship (using a list similar to the ones developed by Fiedler [2, 3] and Bown [1]), this will give his perception of his experience in the relationship. If several judges who have observed the interview or listened to a recording of it (or observed a sound movie of it) now sort the same items to represent their perception of the relationship, this second sorting should catch those elements of the therapist's behavior and in-

ferred attitudes of which he is unaware, as well as those of which he is aware. Thus a high correlation between the therapist's sort and the observer's sort would represent in crude form an operational definition of the therapist's congruence or integration in the relationship; and a low correlation, the opposite.

Unconditional Positive Regard¹

To the extent that the therapist finds himself experiencing a warm acceptance of each aspect of the client's experience as being a part of that client, he is experiencing unconditional positive regard. This concept has been developed by Standal. It means that there are no *conditions* of acceptance, no feeling of "I like you only if you are thus and so." It means a "prizing" of the person, as Dewey has used that term. It is at the opposite pole from a selective evaluating attitude—"You are bad in these ways, good in those." It involves as much feeling of acceptance for the client's expression of negative, "bad," painful, fearful, defensive, abnormal feelings as for his expression of "good," positive, mature, confident, social feelings, as much acceptance of ways in which he is inconsistent as of ways in which he is consistent. It means a caring for the client, but not in a possessive way or in such a way as simply to satisfy the therapist's own needs. It means a caring for the client as a *separate* person, with permission to have his own feelings, his own ex-

periences. One client describes the therapist as "fostering my possession of my own experience . . . that [this] is *my* experience and that I am actually having it: thinking what I think, feeling what I feel, wanting what I want, fearing what I fear: no 'ifs,' 'buts,' or 'not reallys.'" This is the type of acceptance which is hypothesized as being necessary if personality change is to occur.

Like the two previous conditions, this fourth condition is a matter of degree, as immediately becomes apparent if we attempt to define it in terms of specific research operations. One such method of giving it definition would be to consider the Q sort for the relationship as described under Condition 3. To the extent that items expressive of unconditional positive regard are sorted as characteristic of the relationship by both the therapist and the observers, unconditional positive regard might be said to exist. Such items might include statements of this order: "I feel no revulsion at anything the client says"; "I feel neither approval nor disapproval of the client and his statements—simply acceptance"; "I feel warmly toward the client—toward his weaknesses and problems as well as his potentialities"; "I am not inclined to pass judgment on what the client tells me"; "I like the client." To the extent that both therapist and observers perceive these items as characteristic, or their opposites as uncharacteristic, Condition 4 might be said to be met.

Empathy

The fifth condition is that the therapist is experiencing an accurate, empathic understanding of the client's awareness of his own experience. To sense the client's private world as if it were your own, but without ever losing the "as if" quality—this is empathy, and this seems essential to therapy. To sense the client's anger, fear, or confusion as if it were your own, yet without your own anger, fear, or confusion getting bound up in it, is the condition we are endeavoring to describe. When the client's world is this clear to the therapist, and he moves about in it freely, then he can both communicate his

¹ The phrase "unconditional positive regard" may be an unfortunate one, since it sounds like an absolute, an all or nothing dispositional concept. It is probably evident from the description that completely unconditional positive regard would never exist except in theory. From a clinical and experiential point of view I believe the most accurate statement is that the effective therapist experiences unconditional positive regard for the client during many moments of his contact with him, yet from time to time he experiences only a conditional positive regard—and perhaps at times a negative regard, though this is not likely in effective therapy. It is in this sense that unconditional positive regard exists as a matter of degree in any relationship.

understanding of what is clearly known to the client and can also voice meanings in the client's experience of which the client is scarcely aware. As one client described this second aspect: "Every now and again, with me in a tangle of thought and feeling, screwed up in a web of mutually divergent lines of movement, with impulses from different parts of me, and me feeling the feeling of its being all too much and suchlike—then whomp, just like a sunbeam thrusting its way through cloudbanks and tangles of foliage to spread a circle of light on a tangle of forest paths, came some comment from you. [It was] clarity, even disentanglement, an additional twist to the picture, a putting in place. Then the consequence—the sense of moving on, the relaxation. These were sunbeams." That such penetrating empathy is important for therapy is indicated by Fiedler's research in which items such as the following placed high in the description of relationships created by experienced therapists:

The therapist is well able to understand the patient's feelings.

The therapist is never in any doubt about what the patient means.

The therapist's remarks fit in just right with the patient's mood and content.

The therapist's tone of voice conveys the complete ability to share the patient's feelings.

An operational definition of the therapist's empathy could be provided in different ways. Use might be made of the Q sort described under Condition 3. To the degree that items descriptive of accurate empathy were sorted as characteristic by both the therapist and the observers, this condition would be regarded as existing.

Another way of defining this condition would be for both client and therapist to sort a list of items descriptive of client feelings. Each would sort independently, the task being to represent the feelings which the client had experienced during a just completed interview. If the correlation between

client and therapist sortings were high, accurate empathy would be said to exist, a low correlation indicating the opposite conclusion.

Still another way of measuring empathy would be for trained judges to rate the depth and accuracy of the therapist's empathy on the basis of listening to recorded interviews.

The Client's Perception of the Therapist

The final condition as stated is that the client perceives, to a minimal degree, the acceptance and empathy which the therapist experiences for him. Unless some communication of these attitudes has been achieved, then such attitudes do not exist in the relationship as far as the client is concerned, and the therapeutic process could not, by our hypothesis, be initiated.

Since attitudes cannot be directly perceived, it might be somewhat more accurate to state that therapist behaviors and words are perceived by the client as meaning that to some degree the therapist accepts and understands him.

An operational definition of this condition would not be difficult. The client might, after an interview, sort a Q-sort list of items referring to qualities representing the relationship between himself and the therapist. (The same list could be used as for Condition 3.) If several items descriptive of acceptance and empathy are sorted by the client as characteristic of the relationship, then this condition could be regarded as met. In the present state of our knowledge the meaning of "to a minimal degree" would have to be arbitrary.

Some Comments

Up to this point the effort has been made to present, briefly and factually, the conditions which I have come to regard as essential for psychotherapeutic change. I have not tried to give the theoretical context of these conditions nor to explain what seem to me to be the dynamics of their effectiveness.

I have, however, given at least one means of defining, in operational terms, each of the conditions mentioned. I have done this in

order to stress the fact that I am not speaking of vague qualities which ideally should be present if some other vague result is to occur. I am presenting conditions which are crudely measurable even in the present state of our technology, and have suggested specific operations in each instance even though I am sure that more adequate methods of measurement could be devised by a serious investigator.

My purpose has been to stress the notion that in my opinion we are dealing with an if-then phenomenon in which knowledge of the dynamics is not essential to testing the hypotheses. Thus, to illustrate from another field: if one substance, shown by a series of operations to be the substance known as hydrochloric acid, is mixed with another substance, shown by another series of operations to be sodium hydroxide, then salt and water will be products of this mixture. This is true whether one regards the results as due to magic, or whether one explains it in the most adequate terms of modern chemical theory. In the same way it is being postulated here that certain definable conditions precede certain definable changes and that this fact exists independently of our efforts to account for it.

THE RESULTING HYPOTHESES

The major value of stating any theory in unequivocal terms is that specific hypotheses may be drawn from it which are capable of proof or disproof. Thus, even if the conditions which have been postulated as necessary and sufficient conditions are more incorrect than correct (which I hope they are not), they could still advance science in this field by providing a base of operations from which fact could be winnowed out from error.

The hypotheses which would follow from the theory given would be of this order:

If these six conditions (as operationally defined) exist, then constructive personality change (as defined) will occur in the client.

If one or more of these conditions is not present, constructive personality change will not occur.

These hypotheses hold in any situation whether it is or is not labeled "psychotherapy."

Only Condition 1 is dichotomous (it either is present or is not), and the remaining five occur in varying degree, each on its continuum. Since this is true, another hypothesis follows, and it is likely that this would be the simplest to test:

If all six conditions are present, then the greater the degree to which Conditions 2 to 6 exist, the more marked will be the constructive personality change in the client.

At the present time the above hypothesis can only be stated in this general form—which implies that all of the conditions have equal weight. Empirical studies will no doubt make possible much more refinement of this hypothesis. It may be, for example, that if anxiety is high in the client, then the other conditions are less important. Or if unconditional positive regard is high (as in a mother's love for her child), then perhaps a modest degree of empathy is sufficient. But at the moment we can only speculate on such possibilities.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

Significant Omissions

If there is any startling feature in the formulation which has been given as to the necessary conditions for therapy, it probably lies in the elements which are omitted. In present-day clinical practice, therapists operate as though there were many other conditions in addition to those described, which are essential for psychotherapy. To point this up it may be well to mention a few of the conditions which, after thoughtful consideration of our research and our experience, are not included.

For example, it is *not* stated that these conditions apply to one type of client, and that other conditions are necessary to bring about psychotherapeutic change with other types of client. Probably no idea is so prevalent in clinical work today as that one works with neurotics in one way, with psychotics in another; that certain therapeutic conditions must be provided for compulsives, others for homosexuals, etc. Because of this heavy weight of clinical opinion to the contrary, it is with some "fear and trembling" that I advance the concept that the essential conditions of psychotherapy exist in a single configuration, even though the client or patient may use them very differently.²

It is *not* stated that these six conditions are the essential conditions for client-centered therapy, and that other conditions are essential for other types of psychotherapy. I certainly am heavily influenced by my own experience, and that experience has led me to a viewpoint which is termed "client centered." Nevertheless my aim in stating this theory is to state the conditions which apply to *any* situation in which constructive personality change occurs, whether we are thinking of classical psychoanalysis, or any of its modern offshoots, or Adlerian psychotherapy, or any other. It will be obvious then that in my judgment much of what is considered to be essential would not be

²I cling to this statement of my hypothesis even though it is challenged by a just completed study by Kirtner (4). Kirtner has found, in a group of 26 cases from the Counseling Center at the University of Chicago, that there are sharp differences in the client's mode of approach to the resolution of life difficulties, and that these differences are related to success in psychotherapy. Briefly, the client who sees his problem as involving his relationships, and who feels that he contributes to this problem and wants to change it, is likely to be successful. The client who externalizes his problem, feeling little self-responsibility, is much more likely to be a failure. Thus the implication is that some other conditions need to be provided for psychotherapy with this group. For the present, however, I will stand by my hypothesis as given, until Kirtner's study is confirmed, and until we know an alternative hypothesis to take its place.

found, empirically, to be essential. Testing of some of the stated hypotheses would throw light on this perplexing issue. We may of course find that various therapies produce various types of personality change, and that for each psychotherapy a separate set of conditions is necessary. Until and unless this is demonstrated, I am hypothesizing that effective psychotherapy of any sort produces similar changes in personality and behavior, and that a single set of preconditions is necessary.

It is *not* stated that psychotherapy is a special kind of relationship, different in kind from all others which occur in everyday life. It will be evident instead that for brief moments, at least, many good friendships fulfill the six conditions. Usually this is only momentarily, however, and then empathy falters, the positive regard becomes conditional, or the congruence of the "therapist" friend becomes overlaid by some degree of façade or defensiveness. Thus the therapeutic relationship is seen as a heightening of the constructive qualities which often exist in part in other relationships, and an extension through time of qualities which in other relationships tend at best to be momentary.

It is *not* stated that special intellectual professional knowledge—psychological, psychiatric, medical, or religious—is required of the therapist. Conditions 3, 4, and 5, which apply especially to the therapist, are qualities of experience, not intellectual information. If they are to be acquired, they must, in my opinion, be acquired through an experiential training—which may be, but usually is not, a part of professional training. It troubles me to hold such a radical point of view, but I can draw no other conclusion from my experience. Intellectual training and the acquiring of information has, I believe, many valuable results—but becoming a therapist is not one of those results.

It is *not* stated that it is necessary for psychotherapy that the therapist have an accurate psychological diagnosis of the client. Here too it troubles me to hold a viewpoint

so at variance with my clinical colleagues. When one thinks of the vast proportion of time spent in any psychological, psychiatric, or mental hygiene center on the exhaustive psychological evaluation of the client or patient, it seems as though this *must* serve a useful purpose insofar as psychotherapy is concerned. Yet the more I have observed therapists, and the more closely I have studied research such as that done by Fiedler and others, the more I am forced to the conclusion that such diagnostic knowledge is not essential to psychotherapy.³ It may even be that its defense as a necessary prelude to psychotherapy is simply a protective alternative to the admission that it is, for the most part, a colossal waste of time. There is only one useful purpose I have been able to observe which relates to psychotherapy. Some therapists cannot feel secure in the relationship with the client unless they possess such diagnostic knowledge. Without it they feel fearful of him, unable to be empathic, unable to experience unconditional regard, finding it necessary to put up a pretense in the relationship. If they know in advance of suicidal impulses they can somehow be more acceptant of them. Thus, for some therapists, the security they perceive in diagnostic information may be a basis for permitting themselves to be integrated in the relationship, and to experience empathy and full acceptance. In these instances a psychological diagnosis would certainly be justified as adding to the comfort and hence the effectiveness of the therapist. But even here it does not appear to be a basic precondition for psychotherapy.

Perhaps I have given enough illustrations to indicate that the conditions I have hypothesized as necessary and sufficient for psychotherapy are striking and unusual primarily by virtue of what they omit. If we

were to determine, by a survey of the behaviors of therapists, those hypotheses which they appear to regard as necessary to psychotherapy, the list would be a great deal longer and more complex.

Is This Theoretical Formulation Useful?

Aside from the personal satisfaction it gives as a venture in abstraction and generalization, what is the value of a theoretical statement such as has been offered in this paper? I should like to spell out more fully the usefulness which I believe it may have.

In the field of research it may give both direction and impetus to investigation. Since it sees the conditions of constructive personality change as general, it greatly broadens the opportunities for study. Psychotherapy is not the only situation aimed at constructive personality change. Programs of training for leadership in industry and programs of training for military leadership often aim at such change. Educational institutions or programs frequently aim at development of character and personality as well as at intellectual skills. Community agencies aim at personality and behavioral change in delinquents and criminals. Such programs would provide an opportunity for the broad testing of the hypotheses offered. If it is found that constructive personality change occurs in such programs when the hypothesized conditions are not fulfilled, then the theory would have to be revised. If however, the hypotheses are upheld, then the results, both for the planning of such programs and for our knowledge of human dynamics, would be significant. In the field of psychotherapy itself, the application of consistent hypotheses to the work of various schools of therapists may prove highly profitable. Again the disproof of the hypotheses offered would be as important as their confirmation, either result adding significantly to our knowledge.

For the practice of psychotherapy the theory also offers significant problems for consideration. One of its implications is that the techniques of the various therapies are relatively unimportant except to the extent

³ There is no intent here to maintain that diagnostic evaluation is useless. We have ourselves made heavy use of such methods in our research studies of change in personality. It is its usefulness as a precondition to psychotherapy which is questioned.

that they serve as channels for fulfilling one of the conditions. In client-centered therapy, for example, the technique of "reflecting feelings" has been described and commented on [5, pp. 26-36]. In terms of the theory here being presented, this technique is by no means an essential condition of therapy. To the extent, however, that it provides a channel by which the therapist communicates a sensitive empathy and an unconditional positive regard, then it may serve as a technical channel by which the essential conditions of therapy are fulfilled. In the same way, the theory I have presented would see no essential value to therapy of such techniques as interpretation of personality dynamics, free association, analysis of dreams, analysis of the transference, hypnosis, interpretation of life style, suggestion, and the like. Each of these techniques may, however, become a channel for communicating the essential conditions which have been formulated. An interpretation may be given in a way which communicates the unconditional positive regard of the therapist. A stream of free association may be listened to in a way which communicates an empathy which the therapist is experiencing. In the handling of the transference an effective therapist often communicates his own wholeness and congruence in the relationship. Similarly for the other techniques. But just as these techniques may communicate the elements which are essential for therapy, so any one of them may communicate attitudes and experiences sharply contradictory to the hypothesized conditions of therapy. Feeling may be "reflected" in a way which communicates the therapist's lack of empathy. Interpretations may be rendered in a way which indicates the highly conditional regard of the therapist. Any of the techniques may communicate the fact that the therapist is expressing one attitude at a surface level, and another contradictory attitude which is denied to his own awareness. Thus one value of such a theoretical formulation as we have offered is that it may assist therapists to think more critically about those elements

of their experience, attitudes, and behaviors which are essential to psychotherapy, and those which are nonessential or even deleterious to psychotherapy.

Finally, in those programs—educational, correctional, military, or industrial—which aim toward constructive changes in the personality structure and behavior of the individual, this formulation may serve as a very tentative criterion against which to measure the program. Until it is much further tested by research, it cannot be thought of as a valid criterion, but, as in the field of psychotherapy, it may help to stimulate critical analysis and the formulation of alternative conditions and alternative hypotheses.

SUMMARY

Drawing from a larger theoretical context, six conditions are postulated as necessary and sufficient conditions for the initiation of a process of constructive personality change. A brief explanation is given of each condition, and suggestions are made as to how each may be operationally defined for research purposes. The implications of this theory for research, for psychotherapy, and for educational and training programs aimed at constructive personality change, are indicated. It is pointed out that many of the conditions which are commonly regarded as necessary to psychotherapy are, in terms of this theory, nonessential.

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As a footnote to this section on client-centered counseling, the following questions are appended. These basic issues were raised regarding the development of nondirective therapy. The reader should find it interesting to determine to what extent they have been resolved and to what extent they still remain the basis for disagreement.

1. How can any sort of scientific evaluation be made of any method of therapy unless diagnostic studies are made to determine the type of disease process, its severity, duration, and prognosis?
2. What is the responsibility of the nondirective therapist operating in a team relationship with psychiatrists and social workers?
3. What are the indications and contraindications for using nondirective therapy with various types of clients?
4. What is the role of the transference mechanism in nondirective therapy?
5. How does the nondirective counselor know that the client is not following a path of fantasy or prevarication which may disguise a truly critical environmental situation?
6. If a client's social setting will not permit him to tackle his problem nondirectively, cannot this type of therapy be frustrating?
7. Are there any research data showing that nondirective therapy is as effective with the other populations as it is with college students?
8. In studying solely the role of the therapist, have not the nondirective therapists ignored such important factors as the social or institutional setting of the counseling relationship?
9. Do not nondirective therapists place too great a responsibility on some clients (nonpsychotic)?
10. Are client participation in therapy and display of feelings valid criteria for determining the effects of therapy?

Play therapy, an area that is currently receiving much attention, has intrinsic interest not just for counseling personnel, but for many others who deal

[From S. R. Hathaway, "Critical Evaluation of Nondirective Psychotherapy," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 4 (1948): 226-231. Reprinted by permission of the *Journal of Clinical Psychology*.]

to any degree with children. Its rationale is that children's play has therapeutic value, and that their play can be structured and directed so as to maximize the therapeutic value.

Play therapy is generally based upon the same assumptions that underlie client-centered therapy. It was developed by the client-centered therapists and assumes that in a nonthreatening situation the individual can explore and test his environment, and through this exploratory testing activity he can learn autonomous, self-disciplined behaviors.

The conclusion at which Dell Lebo arrives in his following review is that it may not be the procedures in play therapy that account for the reports of improved functioning of the child. He wonders if the changes in behavior may not be primarily a function of the fact that the individual was the subject of attention and the recipient of friendship. It is true that those who have developed play therapy postulate that the single most important therapeutic factor is the relationship with the therapist. This is in essence the same question that has been raised with respect to individual counseling: Are the changes in behavior a result of those procedures which are designed to produce changes, or are they a function of other elements of the situation?

It would be well to bear in mind the admonition that Lebo makes at the end of his article regarding the overgeneralization of the results of play therapy.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF RESEARCH ON NONDIRECTIVE PLAY THERAPY

To many persons nondirective play therapy has seemed easy to learn, pleasant to undertake, and gratifying in results. Much of the attention attracted to play therapy has resulted from its apparent ease as well as from the concept that play is the natural medium of expression of the child. Play has come to be recognized as the most satisfactory way of understanding the nonverbal child. Because of the current widespread interest in child psychology, child training, education, and mental hygiene, recent years have seen a great deal of concomitant activity in nondirective play therapy. Much of the activity has resulted in emotional articles lauding

nondirective play therapy. These articles generally explain the efficacy of nondirective play therapy on the basis of philosophical constructs arising from the growth principle developed from nondirective counseling with adults.

Research in nondirective therapy with adults is sound and extensive. Research in nondirective play therapy with children is still meager, unsound, and frequently of a cheerful, persuasive nature. It has seemed to the present writer that such articles could be more correctly classified as propaganda than as research.

The present paper is an attempt to re-

[From Dell Lebo, "The Present Status of Research on Nondirective Play Therapy," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 17 (1953): 177-183. Reprinted by permission of the author and the *Journal of Consulting Psychology*.]

view current research in nondirective play therapy. With one exception, studies involving more than one child have been reported here. The report giving only a single case history has been avoided. Also, only studies concerned with nondirective play therapy are reported. There is no doubt that play therapy has a considerable history. It may be said to extend back to Rousseau [23] who studied the play of the child to understand his psychology. However, nondirective play therapy developed from the work of Carl Rogers [21, 22] and his associates. One of them, Virginia Axline [2], was the first successfully to apply nondirective methods to play therapy with children. Axline's book, while widely read, is more suggestive than it is factual. It seems to have been the forerunner of much of the persuasive material to be found in studies of nondirective play therapy.

A recent example of the continuing propagandistic tendencies in nondirective play-therapy research papers is to be seen in an article titled: "An Experiment in Play Therapy" [11]. The stated purpose was to help children who seemed unable to adjust to the school situation. The children were selected on the basis of Rorschach tests, their teacher's impression, and the therapist's observations. Two groups of five children each were selected for nondirective play therapy. The majority of children selected had problems of sibling rivalry. The groups met once a week for play therapy. Much verbatim material from the therapy notes was presented to enable the reader to partake of the emotional flavor of the situation.

The shortcomings of the "experiment" are serious. First, it lacks a clear hypothesis and a control group. Second, the results seem to indicate a lack of rigorous method. For it is the conclusion of the research that "through group work they [the children] learned that they were not alone in having 'bad feelings.' Other children had them too" [11, p. 180]. Further that ". . . their natural healthy drive toward maturity, which had been retarded, could once more assert itself" [11, p.

180]. Such conclusions would seem to savor more of a desire to support nondirective play therapy than they do of experimental procedure.

What takes place in nondirective play therapy? With the philosophy of the love of children, and the idyllic purposefulness of many of the typical articles stripped off, nondirective play therapy seems to be left a rather thin framework. A determination of the process of play therapy, as contrasted with the results of play therapy, has been subject matter for only three known research studies.

The first such study was the work of Landisberg and Snyder [18]. They attempted to analyze what actually took place in client-centered play therapy by an objective approach. Their procedure was to study the protocols of three successful and one incomplete case. Each statement made by the counselor was categorized as to its content. Statements made by the children were categorized as to content, emotion expressed, and activity. Although the children ranged in age from five to six years, the categories used had been developed for employment with adult cases.

They reported finding an increase in the child's physical activity during the last three-fifths of therapy. The children were found to have released much feeling during therapy. About 50 percent of their actions and statements during the first two-fifths of treatment were devoted to emotional release. This percentage rose to 70 for the last three-fifths of the process. It was noticed that negative feelings particularly increased in frequency. The major part of the children's feelings were directed towards others and not to themselves or to the counselor. No insightful statements were made by the children whose records were studied.

Finke [15] did not use adult categories in analyzing children's nondirective play therapy protocols, but derived her categories from an analysis of children's statements. Expressions of feeling were emphasized as it was believed such expression would mirror

the child's changing emotional reactions resulting from the play therapy.

She selected complete protocols from six play therapists concerning six different children referred for behavior problems. The children ranged in age from five to eleven years. The possibility of bias resulting from one person's categorizing all the cases was avoided by having five students recategorize one or more interviews chosen at random. Their results corresponded adequately with the original categorization.

It was found that different children, undergoing therapy with different therapists, showed similar trends which tended to divide play therapy into three stages:

1. Child is either reticent or extremely talkative. He explores the playroom. If he is to show aggression at any time during therapy, a great deal of it will be exhibited in this stage.

2. If aggression has been shown, it is now lessened. This child tests the limitations of the playroom. Imaginative play is frequently indulged in here.

3. Most of the child's efforts are now expended into attempted relationship with counselor. The child tries to draw the therapist into his games and play.

Like Landisberg and Snyder, Finke found no trends for positive statements. Unlike them, she found no trends for negative statements. The verbal characteristics of adult counseling sessions did not appear. Finke concluded that nondirective play therapy had its own characteristic pattern which was repeated in case after case.

Both studies indicated that children's attitudes changed during therapy and that the changes could be quantitatively reported. There seem to be serious limitations in both studies. Landisberg and Snyder used adult categories. Finke found fault with this. She indicated that differences in the age and sophistication of the adults and the children would affect the degree and type of verbalization made. Consequently, she felt it

was not justifiable to evaluate children's comments on the basis of categories derived from adults.

Finke seemed to have failed to recognize the possibility that just as the wide age discrepancies between adults and children might influence the character of their verbalizations, so might children's categories vary significantly from one level of maturity to another.

The present writer [19] undertook a study of the possible relationship between chronological age and the types of statements made by children in play therapy. He used Finke's categories.

Twenty children were given three play-therapy sessions by the same therapist in the same playroom. The children were reasonably equated for intelligence and social adjustment. Five age stages were represented with two boys and two girls in each stage. Children were selected who were 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 years of age.

Fifteen pages of verbatim style notes were selected by a table of random numbers from the 166 pages of protocol. These 15 pages were then categorized by three experienced play therapists. Their percentages of agreement were adequately similar to one another. All of the protocols were then analyzed by the writer.

It was found that maturation, as represented by chronological age, did seem to account for some definite trends in the types of statements made by children in the play-therapy situation.

As the children became older, they told the therapist fewer of their decisions. They spent less time in exploring the limitations. They made fewer attempts to draw the therapist into their play and they expressed more of their likes and dislikes.

The three studies, while not strictly comparable, would seem to indicate that non-

directive play therapy is an objectively measurable process; that children's emotional expressions are altered in a discernible manner; and that maturation appears to be related to the type of expression of therapeutic change. Beyond such statements the studies substantiate few of the philosophical aspects of play therapy.

THE SUCCESSFULNESS OF NON-DIRECTIVE PLAY THERAPY

The outcome of play therapy in various types of cases. Nondirective play therapy has been used in the study and treatment of such seemingly diverse problems as allergy, mental deficiency, personality problems, physically handicapped children, race conflicts, and reading difficulties. From the published reports one receives the impression that it has usually been either successful or incomplete. The children are seemingly relieved of their presenting symptoms or the therapy is unavoidably interrupted in a promising but unfinished phase.

Nondirective play therapy in the treatment of allergy. Miller and Baruch [20] following a successful preliminary psychotherapeutic treatment of allergy [8] undertook to treat six children under eleven years of age by play therapy. All their subjects had classical allergic symptoms confirmed by positive skin reactions to various allergens. Prior to nondirective play therapy all the subjects had been unsuccessfully treated medically.

They cite as a representative case a five-year-old asthmatic boy who used attacks of asthma to gain contact with his mother. Whenever she left him, the asthma would express his hostile feelings. His asthmatic attacks cleared after five months of play therapy. Unfortunately, for purpose of this investigation, 16 allergic adults were included in the results. As a result, it can only be said that of the 22 patients (including the six children), 21 showed improvement while one was unchanged.

Nondirective play therapy in the study of

mental deficiency. Exploratory material suggestive of the emotional factors in mental deficiency is presented by Axline [5]. In a report of an examination of selected play-therapy protocols, evidence is offered which indicates marked improvement in some IQ scores after completing play therapy.

The verbatim stenographic reports of 15 six-and-seven-year-old children referred for behavior problems were studied. Each child had been seen individually by the same therapist for 8 to 20 contacts. The reports were selected and analyzed at some time after therapy on the basis of Stanford-Binet IQ ratings and the age of the children. The records were then grouped as follows:

1. Children who showed no appreciable change in IQ scores after therapy. Pre- and posttesting indicated low intelligence.
2. Children who showed a gain in IQ scores after therapy. Pretests were low; posttests were indicative of normal intelligence.
3. Children with average intelligence both before and after play therapy. Children from this group had play therapy in a children's home.

In every case of those children whose IQ stayed low, their mother had indicated shame, disapproval, and rejection. It was felt that the children's difficulty lay in their daily lives. "They were not able to communicate clearly to others the things that were uppermost in their lives" [5, p. 528]. The therapist felt that each of the cases in the first category was incomplete. However, it was impossible to finish therapy.

In the case material presented, it is evident that both the children whose IQ's did not improve and those whose IQ's became normal initiated play activity. Both groups freely expressed negative feelings and destructive play which was followed by outgoing and more positive behavior. The only difference would seem to be that the children whose IQ's were raised had completed their therapy.

The same behavior was shown by the children of average intelligence whose IQ's did not change. This group was included to indicate that mental deficiency was not the cause of behavior problems for these children.

Axline [5] did not claim that nondirective play therapy raised the IQ of the children of group two. She explained the increase in IQ scores by saying the child was freed from emotional constraint and could thus more adequately express his true capacities.

Nondirective play therapy in the treatment of personality disorders. While most of the work in play therapy has been done in the area of personality, there is a dearth of research material. This can be explained by the client-centered philosophy from which nondirective play therapy sprung. Play therapy is oriented around the needs of the client and not around the demands of research. For this reason there are "cases" offered to prove that play therapy works, but there are still few research studies undertaken to see how well it works. Bloomberg's [11] work, already discussed, represents the research aspects of proselytizing for play therapy. Instead of presenting one case, she presents ten. But she presents these ten cases in a manner in keeping with the philosophy of nondirective play therapy. That is to say, the experiment was not designed to stimulate research, it was designed to help children. Consequently, her material merely indicates that play therapy works—a fact which no one disputes.

An experiment that deserves to be a model for future play-therapy work is available in this area. Fleming and Snyder [16] endeavored to determine if measurable changes in social and personal adjustment resulted from nondirective play therapy.

They had three simple personality tests administered to 46 children. Seven children who ranged in age from eight to eleven years were selected for play therapy on the basis of poor results in these tests. After a lapse of 12 weeks,

30 of the 46 children were available for retesting.

Fleming and Snyder found the three girls had improved their adjustment with a greater amount of positive feelings. The least amount of improvement for the girls was in the social area. Save for one individual who fared worse, the four boys made no significant changes. The control group posttest score was the same as their pretest score.

From an analysis of the group scores as well as from individual data, they concluded the greatest change for the subjects was in personal feelings toward the self and in daydreaming. Hence, the theory is offered that personal changes in adjustment must precede social change. The therapy experience had created more positive feeling among the subjects but it did not cause the control group to like them any better.

Since this was the first study of its kind, it was to be expected that certain of their findings should contradict some of Axline's [2] early observations. Although Fleming and Snyder did not indicate it, the following contradictions of Axline's observations were suggested:

1. The therapist's sex was an important factor in establishing rapport. They found ten-year-old boys would not respond well to a female therapist. Axline had said, "Nor does the sex of the therapist seem to be important [for successful play therapy]" [2, p. 65].

2. A housemother who was not given therapy prevented successful therapy with the boys' group. Previously, Axline had stressed that, "It is not necessary for the adults to be helped in order to insure successful play-therapy results" [2, p. 68].

3. The best therapeutic results seem to be achieved when the children in the group have the same degree of malad-

jument. Axline had said, "Experiments in groupings indicate that there are no . . . rules to govern them: Successful groupings have included both sexes, siblings, and wide age ranges" [3, pp. 269-270]. In another place she noted, "A handicapped child can be treated in a group with normal children" [3, p. 27].

Axline's statements would seem to warrant additional experimental investigation.

Nondirective play therapy in the treatment of children with physical handicaps. Axline [2] included cases of handicapped children in her pioneer work. Cowen and Cruickshank [12, 13] undertook the only other known research study to supplement her reports. They set themselves the problem of determining whether or not nondirective group play therapy could be applied to physically handicapped children.

They held 13 meetings with five physically handicapped children all of whom had at least one emotional problem. The children's teachers and parents made an essay-type report on the child's problems at the start of the program. At the last meeting similar reports were filled out again.

In a verbatim account the authors recount the play of a hemophiliac child. This boy would pretend to cut the therapist's fingers to cause him to bleed to death. The imaginary blood was collected in glass jars placed around the therapist.

The investigators found three of the children showed considerable observed improvement in both the home and the school. One child made slight reported gains, and one showed no improvement. They concluded that "the nondirective play-group offers an ideal setting for the self-solution for a particular type of emotional problem; namely, those stemming from the specific disability of the

physically handicapped child" [13, p. 214].

The investigators themselves realize their work has been conducted at a very gross level. They point out several weaknesses of the project. Among these weaknesses are the lack of quantitative material. There were no pre- and posttherapy tests. There was no follow-up study to see if the indicated gains were temporary or cyclical in nature. Nor was a control group utilized to demonstrate more clearly that the play situation was the critical factor.

The recognition of such lacks is a healthy sign. It suggests an awareness of the possibility of improving future research work in play therapy by more rigorous procedure.

Nondirective play therapy in the handling of race conflicts. The effectiveness of play therapy for small groups of children who had difficulty adjusting to other children was the primary purpose of an investigation by Axline, "Play Therapy and Race Conflict in Young Children" [3]. She selected four groups of four children, two boys and two girls, who were either withdrawn or aggressively antisocial.

Each group met once a week for ten meetings. After the tenth meeting the children were mixed for five additional meetings. Axline [3] found that Negro girls were accepted by the group after the seventh meeting. This new acceptance was carried over into the classroom. In all groups, "There was a tendency to participate in the group meetings with an awareness of the rights of others" [3, pp. 309-310]. The race problem was never an issue during the five mixed meetings.

This study is more provocative than it is definitive. The children selected were anti-social and not racially bigoted. It is quite possible that the figure of an habitual intergroup improvement in social relations was dressed in the false whiskers of lessening

social antagonism. In that case Axline has given an old phenomenon a new name.

Nondirective play therapy in the treatment of reading disabilities. Since reading difficulty is frequently associated with emotional disturbances, it is not unexpected to find several research articles on the effectiveness of a therapeutic approach designed to relax and better adjust children who are retarded readers.

Axline [1] reported a study of 50 second graders, listed as poor readers by their teachers, who were given a reading test. The 37 who received the lowest scores were placed in a special class. At the end of the semester, three and a half months later, intelligence and reading tests were administered.

There were 8 girls and 29 boys in the groups with Stanford-Binet IQ's ranging from 80-148. Unlike most remedial reading classes, these children had all their school work in one room with the same teacher. The reading problems were considered to be part of the whole child. "The children came first. The reading, writing, and arithmetic came secondly" [1, p. 65]. The children were given the opportunity for ample emotional expression. In accordance with the techniques of nondirective play therapy their feelings and attitudes were not only accepted but were also clarified. No remedial reading instruction per se was given.

Axline [1] found that 21 children gained more than the maturationally expected 3.5 in words. In the case of four subjects there was a noteworthy difference in the first and second IQ score. One subject's score was increased from 83 to 119.

This study would seem to indicate that nondirective therapeutic procedures are effective in building up a readiness to read in children.

In a later and briefer report Axline [6]

studied three problem readers. Interestingly enough, only two of the children were poor readers, while the third child read too much. This child used books as a substitute for friends. All the children were above average in intelligence.

It was found that the feelings expressed in play brought out emotional problems that could easily account for the reading difficulties. Axline concluded, "Given the opportunity the child can and does help himself" [6, p. 161].

Neither of Axline's [1, 6] reports included experimental controls. Bills [9], working with 22 slow learners in the third grade utilized three 30-day periods of study. The first period was a control period in which all the children were tested with oral reading, silent reading, and Stanford-Binet tests. At the end of that period all the children were retested. They were also retested at the end of the second and third periods.

The second period was the therapy period. The four children with the largest discrepancy between mental age and reading age were given nondirective play therapy. These children all had high IQ's. Four other children were selected whose IQ's were approximately average.

The third period was used as a follow-up period in which the children were tested again.

During the experiment, reading instruction was not remedial in nature and it was kept constant for all members of the class. Thus, a single group was compared with itself for three 30-day periods. Each child was his own control as the three periods were comparable in regard to reading experiences.

The therapy group made a significantly greater gain in the therapy period than it did in the control period. The gains of the therapy group during both the second and third periods of the study were significantly greater than the

gains during the first period of study.

The gains in reading ability appeared immediately after therapy for some children and after a short period following therapy for others. The gains were found to be present six weeks (30 school days) after therapy had ended.

Three judges agreed that five of the children had gained in emotional adjustment following play therapy. However, the design of the study did not permit conclusions as to the effect of maladjustment on children's reading ability.

To answer the question as to whether improved reading ability was due to improved personal adjustment Bills [10] conducted play therapy with well-adjusted readers. The design of the second study was similar to that of the first save that children were now selected for good adjustment by projective and objective personality tests.

He found reading gains were not significantly greater during the therapy period. So, it would appear that nondirective play therapy may improve reading in those children where emotional adjustment exists with the retardation. Consequently, play therapy is not necessarily the method of choice for all retarded readers as the reports of Axline [1, 6] might suggest.

Follow-up studies of nondirective play therapy. While it seems to have been demonstrated that play therapy is productive of personality improvement, it has not been shown whether the effects of therapy are permanent or temporary. Consequently, the value of follow-up studies cannot be denied.

Bills [9] found improved reading ability present six weeks after therapy. Axline [4] reports on an interesting study of a boy whose IQ was 65; upon retest it was 68. Six months after play therapy his IQ was 96. A year later it had gone up to 105. Part of this gain may be ascribed to test familiarization. However, the lasting effects of play therapy are again suggested.

In a long-range follow-up, Axline [7] se-

lected 30 successful play-therapy case records. Of these, 22 subjects were available for follow-up study. Nineteen of the subjects were still successfully adjusted a year later, two were successfully adjusted three years later, and one five years after the original contacts. A follow-up of 24 of the 37 children used in previous research [1] was made five years later. Of this group originally designated as poor readers five were honor-roll students and four others had reading skills adequate for their grade placement.

The effects of play therapy then would seem to be lasting, particularly in the area of personality adjustment.

SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE

The principles and methods of nondirective play therapy are frequently presented as though they were firmly established. The assured manner of writing of many of the authors and the large-scale possibilities held before the reader, tend to make one believe that, at long last, "the way" has been found. Actually, this is not so. Indeed, it may not be the specific procedures of play therapy, per se, that effect the rather remarkable personality changes. The children may be benefiting from having someone constantly and consistently interested in their welfare. Those with experience in hospitals and institutions involving the mentally ill have noticed the unusually high percentage of cures attending any new treatment. They have reported that it is not the treatment method that effects the improvement, rather it is the increased interest taken in the patient. So, too, may it be with nondirective play therapy.

Axline [2] presented no experimental evidence to prove the worth of play therapy. A search of the literature reveals fewer than twenty published articles on the therapeutic uses of play therapy. To be admitted to the ranks of approved therapeutic methods nondirective play therapy needs more than enthusiasm, belief, and the shibboleth, "It works, if you only try it."

The greatest weakness of nondirective play

therapy lies in this impetuous overlooking of the real need for a foundation in research. The most pressing need is for the employment of controls in play therapy. The personal adjustment of two equated groups should be assessed before therapy. The children in the group should then be randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. Upon termination of therapy all the children should be retested to determine the quantitative effectiveness of the play therapy technique in "helping children attain maturity."

Nondirective play therapy, while promising when evaluated subjectively, has been seen to have rather serious methodological lacks. One cannot concur with Kanner [17] that play work with children, while still in its beginning stages, "has come to stay," until play therapy has been established by objective means. In the long run, nondirective play therapy should stand or fall on the results of experimental studies investigating its effectiveness in relation to other procedures.

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21. CLINICAL COUNSELING

E. G. Williamson has been an important figure in conceptualization of student personnel principles, including counseling theory, and he has been one of the leaders of the Minnesota group which for the past several years has exerted much influence in the development of guidance. The following selection, "The Clinical Method of Guidance," is a statement of his conceptualization of the counseling process in 1939. Prior to this he had published with J. G. Darley a text entitled *Student Personnel Work*¹ in which he set forth in detail the formulation presented in this article.

Taken within a historical perspective, counseling, with its direct, extensive applications to the educational scene, is a relatively recent phenomenon. It is, then, no wonder that by 1939 counseling had not performed its task to the complete satisfaction of its critics. The amazing thing is the amount of progress that has been made since, much of it in the postwar period.

As we have discussed previously, the characteristic that most strikingly differentiates clinical counseling from the client-centered point of view is the clinical counselor's emphasis upon the diagnosis as a requisite to treatment of the individual.

What is diagnosis? Should we diagnose or not? First of all, we must understand the term itself. Essentially, diagnosis is a process in which the counselor attempts to classify individuals on the basis of some set of criteria, such as types of problems. One of Williamson's original diagnostic categories was on this basis,² and it is against such categorization that much criticism was leveled. The problems that he set up as categories were personality problems, educational problems, vocational problems, financial problems, and health problems. The implication is that individuals could be classified on these bases and counseling would then proceed according to the implications of the clas-

¹ E. G. Williamson and J. G. Darley, *Student Personnel Work* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

sification. Implicit in the diagnosis is a future referent and designation of the kind of treatment that is desirable. A diagnosis is more than just the accumulation of data and information. It involves an analysis and interpretation of all information about an individual in such a manner that the causal factors underlying behavior can be identified and used as a basis for treatment.

More recently, Pepinsky³ has dealt with other diagnostic classifications upon which treatment could be based: lack of assurance, of information, or of skill, dependence, choice anxiety, and self-conflict. He suggests that these categories are relatively independent, which is one of the requisites of a diagnostic category. In addition, Robinson⁴ has recently suggested still other bases for classification: problems of adjustment, problems of skill, and problems of immaturity.

Perhaps the most important point to be made at this juncture is that the question facing the counselor as he proceeds in his professional work is not one of deciding whether to diagnose, but of deciding, on the basis of the situation with which he is confronted, if there is room for differential techniques.

The first of Williamson's two following articles should be used as an initial referent for comparing the directive conception of counseling as it exists today with its antecedents. It should also be used to compare directive counseling with the client-centered point of view.

In his second article, "A Concept of Counseling," Williamson states what he considers to be the elements basic to a comprehensive system of counseling. He also comments on counseling as a social activity.

THE CLINICAL METHOD OF GUIDANCE

GENERAL PROCEDURES AND TECHNICS

Not all guidance workers are clinicians, and not all use clinical technics in assisting students. Psychometrists, registration advisers, teachers, dormitory directors, and faculty advisers are all personnel workers but not necessarily clinical counselors.

[From E. G. Williamson, "The Clinical Method of Guidance," *Review of Educational Research*, 9 (1939): 214-217. Reprinted by permission of the *Review of Educational Research*.]

³ H. B. Pepinsky, "The Selection and Use of Diagnostic Categories in Clinical Counseling," *Applied Psychology Monograph* No. 15, 1948.

⁴ F. P. Robinson, *Principles and Procedures in Student Counseling* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 168.

Clinical counseling consists of six steps:

1. Analysis—collecting data from many sources about attitudes, interests, family background, knowledge, educational progress, aptitudes, etc., by means of both subjective and objective technics.
2. Synthesis—collating and summa-

rizing the data by means of case-study technics and test profiles to "high light" the student's uniqueness or individuality.

3. Diagnosis—describing the outstanding characteristics and problems of the student, comparing the individual's profile with educational and occupational ability profiles, and ferreting out the causes of the problems.

4. Prognosis—judging the probable consequences of problems, the probabilities for adjustments, and thereby indicating the alternative actions and adjustments for the student's consideration.

5. Counseling, or treatment—cooperatively advising with the student concerning what to do to effect a desired adjustment now or in the future.

6. Follow-up—repeating the above steps as new problems arise and further assisting the student to carry out a desirable program of action.

Some of these steps have been carried out by personnel workers from the early beginnings of the guidance movement. For example, counselors have always collected data in interviews, and psychometrists have tested aptitudes and interests. Moreover, counselors have always interpreted such data as they collected. These then are not new methods of guidance.

COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL COUNSELING

What are the differentiating characteristics between traditional counseling and clinical counseling of individual students? In general terms these differences are found in: (a) the more exhaustive data including those collected in the interview, by means of tests, by anecdotal reports from teachers, and by case-work methods; (b) the more critical review of these data regardless of their source—test scores are not accepted any less critically than are opinions and observations

of students, teachers, and parents; (c) the attempts to encompass all data as opposed to overemphasis upon an unfavorable behavior incident or a high test score—negative halos are balanced against positive halos; and (d) the diagnosing or "teasing out" from relevant and irrelevant data of an interpretation which will be more valid, meaningful, and complete.

These characteristics of clinical counseling should be stressed to offset the prevalent practice of merely collecting data through interviews and tests with the naive expectation that such data will interpret themselves. So much attention has been devoted to the analytical procedure of collecting data that stress must be placed upon the other steps. It is in respect to the interpretation of data that clinical counseling differs most from ordinary counseling. This interpreting is a subjective process. Bingham contended that "when interpreting test results, ingenuity and fertility of insight as well as an understanding of psychological statistics, are indeed to be desired, and richly informed common sense must hold the reins."

It should be apparent that any criticism of "unscientific" directed at the clinical method because the interpretation of data is a subjective process must be restated. To identify scientific methods only with measurement data is to display ignorance of procedures used in science. Even a physicist must interpret his meter readings. Diagnosing in guidance must to some extent be subjective. Objective or scientific technics are utilized in collecting data to the end that the facts to be used in interpretation are as dependable (i.e., valid, reliable, verifiable, and meaningful) as possible. Case data should be valid and should provide comparisons between individuals. Interpretations should be free from the errors of bias, prejudice, impressions, and hunches; the attainment of these qualities is dependent upon the professional skill and integrity of the clinician. Interpretation is characterized by an attempt to weigh one set of data against another; to project test data on the family background, per-

sonality traits, educational and vocational experience and objectives, and other relevant information. Single facts are not interpreted; the composite or synthesis of case data provides the basis of interpretation.

EVALUATION

Specific technics have not yet been validated experimentally. A few studies have been made of the effectiveness of the totality of clinical procedures. Viteles described the general characteristics of the criterion to be used in such validating investigations, and contrasted it with the inadequacy of traditional experimental and statistical methods used in evaluation studies in other fields. Stott described the general methodology of evaluation studies of the (British) National Institute of Industrial Psychology using as criteria of the effectiveness of clinical guidance: (a) number of jobs held after guidance; (b) length of work on these jobs; (c) reasons for discontinuance of work; (d) reports from employers on efficiency of the student; and (e) reports from the student as to his satisfaction with his work experience. Data concerning these five factors were analyzed in terms of the extent to which the student had followed the vocational advice given by the counselor at the end of the student's school experience (approximately equivalent to the close of our junior high school). Students approximately fourteen years of age were given clinical guidance before leaving school and advised what type of job to seek. From two to four years later follow-up interviews were conducted to get information on the five criteria previously described. The counselor's advice was based upon rather extensive clinical analysis of vocational aptitudes.

Several investigations have been reported by English psychologists which utilize the criteria outlined by Stott. The methodologies of these studies were similar. Viteles reported a similar study in the United States with results comparable to those of Stott wherein

the group following the counselor's advice was more successful and more satisfied than the group which had not. Trabue and Dvorak used a similar methodology in evaluating vocational and educational guidance of adults. Williamson and Darley reported the results of evaluation of clinical guidance in terms of grades and satisfaction with occupational and educational choice of one hundred and ninety-six college students. The adjustment and grades of students following advice was significantly higher than for those not following advice. Williamson reported an evaluation of the clinical guidance of college freshmen in terms of the grades they received by individually-paired control cases. The critical ratios of the average differences in grades between the experimental and the control cases was 3.37 for the first quarter of residence and 3.44 for the first year.

SUMMARY

The important feature of the clinical method in guidance centers around formulating a diagnosis about a whole person. The diagnosis is a composite one—data in the form of test results, school grades, records from other personnel agencies, teachers' anecdotes, personal impressions of friends and associates, and qualitative judgments and observations made during the interview. But clinical counseling is more than the collecting of records—a task which any technician can perform. The clinical method transcends the data-gathering function and gives meaning to otherwise meaningless records. The interpretation of the data, the sifting of the relevant from the irrelevant, the integration of apparently unrelated facts, inferring the genotype from the phenotype—these are the distinguishing characteristics of the clinical method in guidance. The evaluation studies of this method are few in number and limited to the criteria of teachers' grades, job success, and job satisfaction. Additional studies should be made which use

criteria involving personality measures. The evidence is however more impressive for

clinical methods than for traditional methods of guidance.

A CONCEPT OF COUNSELING

In formulating a concept of counseling, three factors should be included: the nature of the problems dealt with; techniques used by counselee and counselor; and the purposes or objectives to be achieved. Techniques have been extensively covered in many publications. This discussion will concern counseling in secondary and higher education with clients who are in early and late adolescent stages of personality development.

The significance of the first factor, content, in a concept of counseling stems from the fact that the nature of the problems handled determines the techniques used to deal with such content. That is, a situation calling for assistance to individuals leads to the development of techniques to deal with it. Counselors do not develop a technique and then cast about for a problem to which to apply the technique. A second important factor enters into the emphasis on content; namely, the fact that personnel workers cannot understand the basic nature of counseling solely by studying the techniques used in counseling. Rather must they search outside the counseling interview for those societal forces which have determined, in some part, the nature of counseling itself. In a similar manner, they must reach deeply into their understanding of the nature of human nature in order to understand the role of counseling in the development of that human nature.

A concept of counseling should do four things. First, it should attempt to reconcile conflicting, diverse, or discrete emphasis and

points of view. For example, it should bring the vocational guidance and the therapy emphases together in a common formulation. Secondly, it should bring out in the open, and examine critically, implicit and unrecognized assumptions underlying current theories and practices. Thirdly, it should reveal commonality in different emphases and seek to weld them into a broader synthesis of presently disparate points of view. And lastly, a concept should be productive of emergent values and emphases and problems to be studied. Perhaps a real test of a formulation is: does it produce new developments in knowledge and practice?

Nearly all workers in the field of counseling today agree that the end-goal or objective of counseling is the optimum development of the individual student within the limits of his potentialities. No one school of thought has a monopoly upon this commonly supported objective, but there are great differences regarding other aspects of counseling. For example, there is much disagreement among schools of counseling about the most effective means to that objective. That is, some counselors believe that the acceptance or permission type of counseling relationship will achieve this objective most effectively; some believe that the information-giving type of interview will benefit the individual student most; others believe that test interpretation is the best method to facilitate maturation; and still others believe that a counselor should advise an individual to participate in that organized social or activity program

[From E. G. Williamson, "A Concept of Counseling," *Occupations*, 29 (1950): 182-189. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

that holds interest for him. But perhaps a majority of counselors hold a point of view on the issue of means to the end-goal which has been miscalled eclectic, but for which the terms appropriateness and relevancy would be more precise in meaning. This latter point of view is that there should be a relationship of appropriateness or relevancy between the nature of the student's problem and the kind of counseling technique used in the counseling relationship.

A second area of disagreement concerns the strategic aspect of personality development; that is, counselors disagree about ego-integration or vocational adjustment or socialization as "the" basic or pivotal core of an individual's growth. Each proponent argues that if the core he rates most important is made sound and adjusted, then growth or development of the individual's personality will follow.

Counselors also differ about a third significant factor—namely, the timing of counseling. That is, they differ in advocating that counseling should take place only during crises, only in choice situations, only when there are "felt" difficulties, or both before and after crises arise in an individual's adjustments.

With such great diversity in positions held and points of view expounded concerning the means to the common end, personnel workers can best understand modern counseling if they gain insight into some of its unique dimensions or characteristics, especially those which are the result of the peculiar social conditions present in the early stages of its development. A review of these peculiarities lays a foundation for possible reconciliation of some of the diverse points of view mentioned above.

Within the present century counseling has become a formally structured function of society as contrasted with the earlier rudimentary forms found within the family and in society outside of the family. The original impulse behind recently structured counseling seems to have been an almost universal occurrence of problems in association with

the vocational adjustments of youth. That is, the choice of an occupation became such a complex matter that it often produced maladjustments and confusion. It was a happy accident that about the same time this observation became widespread, in the first decade of this century, the emphasis held by members of the Taylor society on the role of aptitudes in the work efficiency of adults reached such a stage of development that the concept of aptitudes could be identified as also playing a most strategic role in the choice of an occupation by young persons. It was an equally happy coincidence that research on objective techniques of validly measuring human characteristics, as a substitute for time-honored subjective methods of "estimation," "rating," and "judgment," was sufficiently established and at hand for Parsons to incorporate such an emphasis in the early formulation of vocational guidance.

Counseling in its present organized form had another origin—namely, as a problem-centered service to youth. This state of problem-mindedness profoundly influenced the content and methods used in practice, the kind of research problems studied, and the points of view developed by counselors. A parallel instance of interaction of technique and content is found in the subtle effect upon psychoanalytic theory and practice of its origin in human pathology. As a result of the locus of its early formulation and development, psychoanalytic techniques became as much problem-centered as was early vocational guidance.

Two instances of the early conditioning of theory and practice in counseling illustrate this point. First, the fix-it-up emphasis, so characteristic of much present-day guidance in the vocational field, probably was influenced or even caused by the problem-centeredness of early forms of counseling. And, in fact, some early systems of vocational guidance defined the role of counseling largely in terms of a choice or a crisis situation. That is, vocational guidance was said to help the individual choose from

among several alternative objectives or possibilities which he faces at a particular stage in his personal development. Secondly, the remediation function in counseling also grew out of problem-centeredness. That is, when study habits or reading skills proved to be inadequate or insufficient as an individual pupil progressed in the school, then he was readily identified as needing repair-counseling. When emotional tensions exploded and when social habits produced hostility or isolation, then it was commonly observed that the individual needed curative counseling.

Along with such a problem-centered emphasis goes the allied belief that until a problem situation is visible, and also after a repair function has taken place, counseling is not needed. For instance, there is the familiar example of the parent or teacher who says: "Little Johnny doesn't need counseling because he has no problems." Parenthetically, this contention has sometimes led some counselors to conclude that an important function of counseling is sometimes to produce problems, that is, to produce an awareness of a problem situation which might be unperceived currently or which might erupt under stress.

After three decades of this type of problem-centeredness, counselors are now turning away from such an overemphasis to a more positive position. Difficult as it has been to develop emphasis on the prevention of breakdowns and the preparation for crises beforehand to prevent their occurrence, they are making progress in reorienting themselves to this more important societal function of counseling.

CURRENT EMPHASES

There are at least five central emphases found in current thinking regarding the nature of counseling which need to be synthesized in any formulation of counseling.

Currently, as in the recent past, *the diagnosis of aptitudes, both vocational and scholastic, is a dominant and important procedure of modern counseling.* In the Ameri-

can kind of a democratic society, the use of aptitudes in productive occupational activities is an important requirement of citizens. It is accepted that everyone should work in his own behalf and to support himself and his family. Thus the identification of aptitudes is seen as an important means to the social goal of economic and occupational self-sufficiency. Without minimizing the strategic importance of this point, nevertheless, counselors may sometimes overemphasize it to the neglect of other factors, even those involved in the very process of occupational adjustment. For example, sometimes they seem to believe that the mere identification of aptitudes and the recognition of the possession of these aptitudes by the client will, in and of itself, become coupled with the desire to train these aptitudes, and to use them in an appropriate occupation. Such an assumption seems to underlie much of the practice in classification and assignment found in military establishments and in some industrial employment agencies. This is not an appropriate theory for counseling children and adolescents, and probably it is not appropriate for many adults.

A second current emphasis found in counseling concerns the diagnosis of vocational interest patterns. Counselors sometimes assume that interest patterns go hand in hand with the requisite motivations for their use, particularly for their use in relationship to possessed aptitudes. It is necessary to examine critically and experimentally the implication that the mere possession and identification of an interest pattern, as revealed by present tests, is adequate for inducing effort directed to tasks in school and on jobs. The question is, does a client automatically want to use his interests once he has perceived or discovered them through counseling, or does he have to learn to want to use his interests as he must often learn to want to use his aptitudes once he has discovered what they are? Is there some subtle emotional bridging of the steps from self-understanding to one's motivation to use what one perceives that he possesses? In some instances, counselors

seem to have some half-formulated idea that interest patterns are internal driving forces which, once released through the process of identification in counseling, will automatically take charge of an individual and steer him toward the occupation in which he can use his interests. This is not to say that either aptitudes or interests are *not* motivating forces, but rather that perhaps a subtle emotional conditioning process may be necessary to couple interests with aptitudes.

Underlying the two previously discussed emphases is a deeper and broader assumption that, other things being favorable, an individual faces the best probabilities of achieving both personal happiness and occupational success if and when he is engaged in activities and in work which require the kinds and amounts of aptitudes, interests, and personality structures that he possesses. This is the underlying logical and theoretical structure of most modern counseling oriented toward assisting an individual to understand himself concerning the requirements of the tasks of school and a job. Even a cursory survey of the literature of counseling readily confirms the impression that this hypothesis has been a most productive one, both for research and for practice in counseling. It has not only radically transformed counseling practices, but it has also remade many phases of instruction in schools. As a result, the contemporary adolescent has much greater probability of choosing the "right" vocation now than was true of his grandfather a half century ago. Notwithstanding its importance, it may be contended that this hypothesis, as well as the two preceding ones, is in need of some revision in the form of additions dealing with other dynamics of human adjustments.

A fourth major emphasis in counseling centers on ego-integration through insight following catharsis as a curative process for repressed self-conflicts which prevent growth or which produce growth in self-destructive directions or in nonadaptive directions. Stated another way, counseling as psychotherapy is concerned with the reduction or

elimination of anxiety tensions caused by self-conflicts. This emphasis has a long historical development and is spreading in universality of adoption. In fact, in an increasing number of circles, counseling is completely identified with psychotherapy, and all counseling techniques are said to be curative in nature.

This therapeutic emphasis in counseling in the past has centered attention almost exclusively and somewhat narrowly upon the pathology and medical treatment of emotional disruptions, traumas, and anxieties. But a recent restatement, opening up rich possibilities of research, is found in an interesting attempt to structure counseling within the framework of modern (two-factor) learning theories [4]. From the standpoint of learning theory, psychotherapy consists of three interrelated processes: First, "the lifting of repression and the development of insight through the symbolic reinstating of the stimuli for anxiety; second, the diminution of anxiety by counter-conditioning through the attachment of the stimuli for anxiety to the comfort reactions made to the therapeutic relationships; and, third, the process of re-education through the therapist's helping the patients to formulate rational goals and behavioral methods for attaining them."

The fifth current emphasis, a variant of the preceding one, is the nondirective emphasis which deals with ego-integration through counseling, as in other forms of psychotherapy, but which chiefly stresses the naturalistic self-expression of the individual's own "inner capacities for growth" through verbalization about a frustrating problem. The question is still unanswered, as Rohrer contends, whether such release therapy produces problem solutions (curative therapy) or only verbalization with temporary diminution of frustration [3].

Parenthetically, it is of some passing interest that this is the third time in our own century that Rousseau's great eighteenth-century doctrine on human nature has found expression. The first movement of naturalistic ex-

pression of inner growth, with a minimum of restriction and inhibition from external social conditions, was found in the unrestricted and uninhibited self-expressionism that broke out coincidental with the social changes in morals and mores following World War I. This outbreak took its justification text from the distortion of the psychology of Freud introduced in America just prior to World War I. The second great movement bringing Rousseau's doctrine up to the twentieth century was one of the motivating concepts behind the progressive education movement. This movement began with Dewey's doctrine of the enhancement of learning through the integration of interest with effort in the classroom and in extracurricular and extraclassroom learning experiences. Later, its leaders incorporated much of Rousseau's naturalism into its doctrine and "growth for growth's sake" became the end-goal of education.

Recently there evolved a third movement in part based upon a doctrine similar to (or growing out of) Rousseau's philosophy of human nature. It has served to focus attention on the great importance of the client's perception of himself [5] and upon the central purpose of his growth. These emphases have done much to redress the imbalance of the 1920's and 1930's with their preoccupation in counseling circles centered upon the forging of techniques of diagnosis to be used by the counselor. Nevertheless, this significant contribution is tempered by the nondirective emphasis upon some puzzling assumptions about the nature of human nature and particularly about the nature of human development. As with Rousseau, some nondirectivists seem to take the position that human nature would appear to be essentially "good" and society is essentially "wicked" in its "imposition" upon the natural growth of the individual. Such a doctrine stems from a concept of the relationship between inner dynamic forces of the individual and the outer social forces of his social environment which, like Rousseau's doctrine, maximizes the internal forces and minimizes

the contributions of the external forces. Lewin and his colleagues seem to have formulated a more acceptable concept of this relationship as contrasted with the over-emphasis in the nondirective movement on the unhampered unfoldment of inner growth forces.

THE CONTENT OF COUNSELING

The developmental problems encountered by youth in growing up and in making the transition from childhood to adulthood constitute in a broad sense a very complex and not fully understood learning experience. In some instances a bewildering variety of experiences, problems, and difficulties characterize this transition period. In dealing with personal development of adolescents, personnel workers say that they deal with the whole child, but in actual practice they touch upon only a small part of the wide range of developmental experiences. That is, they select one or two kinds of content for major emphasis and others are relegated to the periphery of attention. For example, within the first half of this century, counseling has had only two focal points receiving major attention. Problems of vocational guidance and psychotherapy have constituted most of the content of counseling, and other factors have received only passing attention. It is true that counselors are now broadening their concept a bit to include some of the phenomena revealed by analysis of the process of socialization with its attendant individual adjustment problems. However, there are many other aspects of adolescent development which could provide significant content for counseling process. Some of these are the individual's adjustments as he attempts to grow, change, and mature with respect to religious and moral values, and to interpersonal and social relationships involving culture conflicts, discriminatory practices, tensions resulting from class structure in our society, and related learning experiences. For the most part, such types of problems do not find representation in the dis-

cussion of counseling processes and techniques or in the actual content of counseling interviews. They are however, significant parts of the whole child's development which ought to be studied from a counseling point of view.

If the subject matter of counseling is as broad as adolescent human nature, then it may be expected that a technique proved helpful regarding one type of adjustment may be adapted to a different area of development. Thus counselors are engaged in adapting some interviewing techniques perfected in the 1920's on the then-current problem of occupational choice to current problems of psychotherapy. Such adaptation and modification lead to new formulations of the nature, purpose, and content of counseling and may be expected to recur as counselors continue to develop a virile and fertile profession. Were they to settle down to a rigid, fixed content of counseling, they would lose much of their effectiveness, since the culture and the human nature found in that culture continue to exhibit, from decade to decade, different kinds of problems or modification of the same problems.

THREE CONTENT FACTORS

Three types of content factors serve to illustrate the type of counseling under discussion. First, a special factor found in this society, the societal objective of the maximum utilization and conservation of human resources, effects the content of counseling. Obviously, this topic is not identical with the whole of counseling and counseling is not the sole technique used in such conservation efforts. But counselors do have a part to play in this important societal function. As a result of a half century of experimentation and experience in America, counselors are approximating the ideal of finding talent in all social and economic groups as well as in different geographic areas of the country. Indeed, they have made an almost universal adaptation of the concept of the equality of opportunity to

include stress on the aptitudes actually possessed by individuals. In like manner, in the choice of educational opportunities in the primary and secondary school levels, great strides have been made in using the diagnostic techniques of counseling in the adaptation of educational opportunities to the results of such diagnosis. Very little talent is not being educated at the primary and secondary levels of education. But when it comes to higher education and, more particularly, to the choice of an occupation at the professional levels, family status and wealth still determine to a large extent the outcomes of educational and occupational choices in many instances despite the available diagnosis of the counselors [2]. That is, actual aptitudes possessed do not always, or perhaps in most cases, determine a student's choice of higher education and of occupations growing out of or dependent upon higher educational training.

There is another deficiency in the use of counseling for conservation of human talent. Progress has lagged in using counseling for improved social participation of students in the available learning opportunities in school and community. With respect to this problem of human development, practices are passively permitted in which those who are well adjusted do the participating and thereby crowd to the social sidelines those who need counseling. Protected by a laissez-faire policy and under the guise of a democratic student-managed activity program, those who need social learning experiences usually get the least amount of it.

In like manner, only now are counselors beginning to go beyond elementary developments in using counseling methods in conserving emotional development of children and adolescents. Indeed, in many schools a pupil must exhibit an emotional breakdown before he receives therapeutic counseling. And when it comes to deviate or delinquent behavior, often associated with emotional frustrations and trauma, frequently only a student who is an overt breaker of the law is eligible for psychiatric

counseling. It is evident that the counseling profession has not made widespread progress in adapting and applying counseling techniques to other than the identification and utilization of aptitudes and interests in vocational and educational guidance.

A second content factor that needs special attention is derived from the fact that for the past quarter of a century or more personnel workers have dealt with counseling cases largely caused by the absence of organized counseling. They have been so busy dealing with misfits in education and industry and in society at large that they could counsel only more seriously maladjusted cases. But today it seems about time for a second stage of development, namely, the preventive use of counseling techniques in normal growth processes. In this second stage of evolution, counselors will transport counseling techniques out of the pathological-crises-clinic and adopt them for use in the context of normal educational and personal development.

Such a preventive use of counseling techniques outside of the counseling interviewing office and outside of the therapeutic clinic opens up new dimensions for the development of counseling as an integral part of education. This preventive stage of development in counseling emphasizes the function of counseling in aiding students to develop and to become self-guiding, with assistance when needed. In this stage counseling is identified with improvement in the art and skill of self-counseling. It is a significant contribution of the twentieth century that the expert in all realms of life has come to the fore, not as an object of ridicule but as one to be consulted. Now as a part of the teaching of individuals to become self-counseling, it is necessary to make certain that emphasis on the normalcy of consultation is not lost. For a person to seek counseling from those who know more than he does is a normal part of life experiences. To wait until the crisis is here before seeking counsel is to lose a strategic advantage of preventive counseling. An important goal

of education is to teach students how, when, and why to use experts, if for no other reason than to correct the nineteenth-century doctrine of self-reliance and rugged individualism in the development of self-contained and self-directed industrial leaders.

A third content factor concerns the significance of individual growth. The early major emphasis in counseling was upon facilitating the optimum development of each individual. This doctrine centered counselors' attention upon growth for growth's sake, sometimes in social isolation from other individuals. And in large part the explorations of cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and group therapists were ignored. Today personnel workers turn from such an emphasis upon growth for growth's sake of each individual, to the significance for the growth of each individual of the social context in which he grows. In a social democracy, socialization is an important experience since a major part of the individual's personality growth is conditioned by the social context which necessitates learning teamwork-interpersonal relationships with other growing individuals. As a result of this corrective of the earlier narrow centering upon isolated growth, counselors now devote more attention to the fact that in western culture man is normally, and at his best development, a social animal and not a social isolate. Moreover, the growth concept is widened beyond the time-dimension progression to the horizontal-reaching-out in one's learning at each time stage of maturity development. In summary, the growth concept of an earlier day has been considerably modified to include the cooperative interpersonal growth of individuals and the social broadening of the growing experiences.

SOCIAL PURPOSE OF COUNSELING

The foregoing discussion of some vestigial and sometimes dynamic conditions in the origination of counseling; five current emphases in counseling; and three phases of the content of counseling serves as a basis for

a statement of the purpose of counseling, formulated in terms of the strategic role of education in a democratic society. Perhaps such an informally organized statement of this aspect of a concept of counseling will be sufficient to gather up and synthesize to a certain degree the experiences of the recent half century of counseling.

Counseling may be thought of as a method of freeing individuals from their limitations and thus facilitating their development. But the process of freeing does not follow upon unrestricted self-development of inner forces nor by the elimination of self-deficiencies. Rather does it proceed through personalized affective relationship (warm, friendly, permissive, anxiety-reducing, ego-integrating, repression-lifting) and assistance to each individual to learn, and to relearn, methods of realistic appraisal (perception) of himself as a growing individual.

Hugh Bell recently stated a similar emphasis: "The student does not need to have a problem in order to make this type of service effective. The desire to understand himself better is sufficient motivation to enable him to profit from such an appraisal. Counselors have only begun to explore this important area of their work. It would seem that if we proceed with due caution and with an appreciation of our own limitations, we can make a contribution in assisting normal individuals in arriving at a more accurate appraisal of their personality status [1]."

Counseling also takes the form of personalized encouragement in inducing motivation to strive for optimum self-development, including the art of assisting others, each in his own development. Finally, counseling aids the individual in utilizing relevant opportunities for growth and development—vocational, educational, personal, emotional, and the like.

In the practice of counseling, one important requirement needing central attention is the peculiar kind of surrounding societal organization necessary to the full utilization of each individual's potentialities for growth.

One feature of a favorable society is the fluidity of social factors and opportunities for the development of individuals. That is, a class-structured society with maximum rigidity and barriers will impede the progress of individuals from one social status (not merely economic) to another and so will a social context in which each individual's station and role in life are determined, in large part for him, by accidents of birth and geography, regardless of his individual talents and potentialities. In a rigidly structured society, counseling of the sort outlined above would be impossible of achievement. Rather does counseling require a society with minimum rigidity and with social requirements based on relevant factors and not on intrinsic factors such as race, birth, and sex.

Counseling in a democracy is seen as one of many instrumentalities for aiding individual members to achieve an appropriate and relevant equality of opportunity—educational, vocational, emotional, and social. But such counseling is not an instrumentality for growth through demolishing all barriers restricting free development in any and all directions, irresponsibly and without regard for the development of others. Rather is counseling to be used as a means of helping the individual to acquire a deep, functioning knowledge of himself to the end that he may find those opportunities for growth which are open to, or can be opened to, one possessing the potentialities an individual actually possesses. Thus counseling is individualized, personalized, and permissive assistance in developing skill in attaining and reattaining socially enlightened self-understanding and self-direction.

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22. ECLECTIC COUNSELING

F. C. Thorne has been a leading spokesman for the counseling point of view characterized as directive, particularly since the advent of Rogerian theory on the counseling scene. Thorne and Williamson both represent points of view that have been described as directive, and the essential elements of the two are basically similar. The decision to classify them separately in this textbook might tend to emphasize differences that in fact do not exist. The justification for treating each separately, is that Thorne is more eclectic than Williamson and that he (Thorne) gives more emphasis to interview phenomena as a part of counseling. Thorne states specifically that his intent is to "present a comprehensive system of counseling and psychotherapy that will integrate and relate the positive values of newer viewpoints with traditional methods."¹ His system is eclectic, but as implied by the article title, "Directive and Eclectic Personality Counseling," of the next selection, it has a strongly directive flavor. The student will note that the term "counseling" appears in the title, but that in the article itself the words "psychotherapy" or "therapy" are used.

The first article by Thorne is a statement of "The Nature of Directive Psychotherapy." In this writing he presents in a straightforward and clear fashion the basic assumptions of this point of view. Premise number one indicates a basic difference between this point of view and that of the Rogerians. Implicit in his statement that the therapist is a master educator is the question of who is qualified to be a counselor. Rogers' position with respect to requirements of background and training were succinctly stated in a preceding article. The difference in point of view is obvious.

¹ F. C. Thorne, "Directive and Eclectic Personality Counseling," *Six Approaches to Psychotherapy* (New York: Henry Holt, 1955), p. 235.

Thorne's concern with case study again reaffirms the principle that diagnosis is a necessary counseling tool for the successful counselor. He emphasizes the fact that the diagnosis is an activity that cannot be undertaken by the client alone but must be under the direction of an individual who has a superior background of understanding of human behavior and a greater degree of competence in skills of individual analysis. As part of his eclectic view, Thorne states that, "the critical factor is not what method is used but rather the skill with which it is used."²

The reader might ponder the implications of these premises for counseling in the public schools. To what extent do Thorne's principles lend themselves to general application? Can we accept the assumption in the public school that the counselor is a master educator? And, even if it is accepted in principle, would such a concept be sound in public school practice? What are some of the limitations of public school counselors? To what extent do counselors in the public schools act on the basis of this principle even though they may not have clearly articulated it in the same fashion as has Thorne?

What are the ethical and moral issues involved? Does this point of view leave the implication that even the final decision-making should be the responsibility of the counselor? Do we have the moral responsibility to make a decision for an individual, or do we have the responsibility of allowing him to make it for himself? Can we on the other hand allow youngsters to make decisions without some guidance, direction, or even compulsion? What type of counseling is carried on in the schools today? The foregoing are public school problems that must be considered in determining to what extent counseling principles can be generally applied to the school setting.

Thorne presents an outline of basic methods and patterns of directive psychotherapy and of counseling. The reader should attempt to apply this pattern to public school counseling in terms of limitations and applications.

The first requisite listed is adequate diagnostic studies. What are the tools and techniques implied in an adequate diagnosis? Is the public school counselor equipped with these tools and techniques? If he is not, on what basis does he make a diagnosis, or is a diagnosis relevant for the public school situation? To what extent are the schools able to develop a complete case history, clinical examinations, psychometric and projective studies, laboratory procedures, and so forth? At first glance, many of these things seem to be beyond the ability of school people, yet in the final analysis there is in the school an excellent longitudinal record—if the cumulative records have been kept systematically. The authors have observed repeatedly that teachers do not realize the utility of well-kept records until some type of case-study approach is used. When looking at a child within such a frame of reference teachers are appalled by the limitations of inadequately kept records.

² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

THE NATURE OF DIRECTIVE PSYCHOTHERAPY

Directive psychotherapy is not a new school of psychotherapy or a complete system in itself; it is simply an eclectic method suitable for dealing with specific types of personality problems. We have always regarded the attempt to establish new schools of clinical practice as artificial and harmful to scientific progress, since the only truly scientific approach is the eclectic method of utilizing all known methods according to their indications and contraindications.

Our own approach to counseling and psychotherapy is based on the contention that all effects of psychotherapy must be explained in terms of psychology of learning. All methods of psychotherapy may be classified under either of the two general headings: *establishing suitable conditions for learning to take place* and *providing suitable training situations* according to the psychology of learning, so that reconditioning actually takes place and is translated into action. It is very important to understand this distinction. Under the heading of establishing suitable conditions for learning, we would include many of the techniques of psychoanalysis and nondirective therapy that are intended to create rapport, to analyze early childhood conditionings, especially of traumatic emotional nature, to deal with emotional repressions and blocks to self-expression and growth in the present, and generally to unlearn older maladaptive patterns and to gain insight into how we got that way.

But analysis and emotional release and the acquisition of insight are often not enough and do not inevitably result in cure. It is then necessary to undertake the second part of therapy, which involves an active reconditioning process that must not be considered complete until insights are ac-

tually translated into action. Much of the psychotherapy of the past has failed because the therapist and client did not work hard enough in practicing newer patterns until they were actually mastered. In other words, it is necessary not only to know what is the matter and what to do about it, but also to work hard until newer styles of life are mastered and become an organic part of the client.

Directive methods are based on the hypotheses that the learning of newer adaptive patterns must depend upon maximum utilization of intellectual resources in personality. To gain or regain mental health may be regarded as an exercise in problem-solving behavior in which learning or relearning are the principal tools. Except in relatively mild cases, the solution of the problem cannot be left to the client himself on a laissez-faire basis, since he has usually already demonstrated inability to cope with life alone. As in medicine and all other clinical specialties requiring long training and experience to deal competently with all factors involved, it follows that psychotherapy demands the most complete training and experience that are available at a given time and place. In difficult cases the ultimate responsibility of the therapist is to direct the learning process that is inherent in all psychotherapy.

Objectives of the Therapist

If it is accepted that some sort of learning process underlies all psychotherapy, it follows that among the objectives of the therapist are the following: *to make a diagnosis* concerning the nature of the problem in all its ramifications and then *to devise and institute suitable training procedures* for the correction of pathogenic factors. Here, as in

[From F. C. Thorne, "Directive and Eclectic Personality Counseling," *Six Approaches to Psychotherapy*, New York: Henry Holt, 1955, pp. 243-250 and 264-267. Reprinted by permission of the author and Henry Holt.]

almost all clinical practice, the primary and most difficult objective is to discover the nature of the problem, after which suitable remedies usually become apparent. Diagnosis is therefore the foundation of all scientific clinical practice. In our opinion, current diagnostic methods and categories are woefully inadequate, and in the future the task with the highest priority will be to re-evaluate the whole problem of diagnosis and diagnostic categories.

Premises of Directive Psychotherapy

At this point we may restate a number of premises that underlie directive therapy of all types:

1. The therapist is essentially a *master educator* who takes over where society, family, education, and the person himself have failed to condition healthy behavior.

2. The first stage of therapy consists in establishing suitable conditions for learning a new style of life. This includes establishing rapport, analyzing past conditions of a traumatic nature, releasing emotional repressions and blocks, and giving the client maximum opportunity to solve as much as he can by himself.

3. The concept of directiveness implies that someone must discover what is the matter and what must be done, and then must see that it is done. This procedure involves diagnosis that cannot usually be accomplished by the client alone, and it also involves the great issue of what is to be done therapeutically.

4. The issue is sharpened when facing the concrete decision of *when, where, how, and why* to interfere in another person's life. What is the authority for determining how another person shall be influenced therapeutically? In the past, such vested interests as religions, educational institutions, political parties, and other pressure groups have regarded themselves as suitable authority. None of them is completely valid and satisfactory.

5. It is postulated that the scientific ap-

proach provides the most satisfactory authority for undertaking directive therapy. As here used, the scientific method is regarded as the ultimate method of establishing validity and must be given precedence. According to standards of time and place, the broad scientific training provides the highest standards of competence. Science is the common ground on which conflicting authorities must come to agree.

Basic Methods and Patterns

The following outline presents the basic method and pattern of directive psychotherapy in which, though client-centered, the therapist assumes responsibility for conducting all details of case handling according to the highest ethical and professional standards:

1. *Adequate diagnostic studies*, which involves complete case history, clinical examinations, psychometric and projective studies, and laboratory procedures, such as electroencephalography.
2. *Preparation of a descriptive formulation* of the psychodynamics of each case, including etiology, clinical status, personality resources, and prognosis.
3. *Outline of an individual plan of therapy* with client-centered orientation that is specifically related to the needs of the individual case.
4. *Genuine eclecticism* in therapeutically utilizing all the technical resources, either directive or nondirective, which are available at time and place.
5. *Utilization of the principles of experimental science* wherever applicable at all levels of case handling, and especially in etiological studies and psychodagnosis.

This outline of directive psychotherapy is consistent with the historical evolution of clinical science in general and medical psychology in particular, and it combines the best characteristics of experimentalism and modern clinical science.

THERAPEUTIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE CASE HISTORY

The relation between adequate case-history taking and rational psychotherapy is of both theoretical and practical significance. . . .

One of the objectives here is to provide an introduction to the theory and use of the case history as a method of clinical examination and its relation to rational psychotherapy. In the search for briefer methods of psychodiagnosis and psychotherapy there has been some tendency to minimize the importance of an adequate case history. Although the accurate and detailed case history is still the most valid and reliable device at our disposal for evaluating the longitudinal development of the individual, psychologists have largely failed to study and utilize the methods in clinical practice and instead have spent much time and research in developing less effective substitutes, such as personality inventories, attitude questionnaires, rating scales, and the like.

It is our opinion that every clinical psychologist should be trained in, and become adept in, the taking and evaluation of the case history irrespective of the type of practice that he expects to engage in. Rogers's opinion that the obtaining of a case history is nonessential or contraindicated in nondirective counseling and psychotherapy appears extreme, and considerable harm would result if it were accepted universally. There is need for extensive objective research in elucidating the use of the case history in both directive and nondirective clinical methods.

Need for Accurate Diagnosis

It seems elementary that rational treatment cannot be planned and executed until an accurate diagnosis has been made. Among the diagnostic errors that can be made in the absence of a reliable case history are (a) reaction to superficial appearances, (b) superimposing of preconceived theories that have no valid application, (c) reasoning

from false premises and inadequate evidence, and (d) faulty corroboration of facts. The validity of the clinical method depends upon the gathering of all possible relevant facts without which no reliable evaluation can be made. Instead of trying to find the facts to fit some preconceived theory, it is necessary to find a theory that will fit the facts.

In psychological diagnosis it is necessary to elaborate the exact sequence of cause-effect relationships in order to determine whether the behavior disorders have occurred as a reaction to environmental stimulation or are secondary to pathological lesions. Since different etiological factors may produce an identical result and since a given etiological factor may elicit different personality reactions in different individuals, it is essential to obtain enough case history to elucidate the developmental sequences involved in each case.

Occasionally, it is possible to make a "snap" diagnosis by means of recognition of pathognomonic signs or clinical intuition, but the experienced clinician knows that such diagnoses are more often erroneous than accurate. Conversely, the better the diagnostician, the longer and more detailed will be the case history that he takes. When phenomena are as complex as are the factors that result in maladjustment and mental disorder, it should be obvious that there can be no short cuts to clinical understanding.

Many psychological disorders can be alleviated by suggestion, environmental manipulations, changes of jobs, vacations, and other expedients in the absence of genuine insight into pathological mechanisms or exact diagnosis. Unfortunately, however, the more serious maladjustments do not respond to superficial symptomatic treatments, and no rational plan of treatment can be accomplished without a detailed knowledge of each individual case history.

Determination of the Truth

Serious psychological maladjustments are typically associated with poor interpersonal

relationships which eventually result in the subject's being referred to some agency for study. One must always suspect a psychological disorder when a person is brought for study by a friend or relative, the implication being that his associates believe that there is enough wrong to warrant study. In any situation where serious complaints are made by one person against another, the demands of justice and objective research require a thorough investigation of the total situation to determine the truth. This basic essential of clinical investigation is too frequently overlooked by the beginner, who tends to be unduly influenced by the first version of the situation that he hears. *It is very important not to formulate any opinion in a case until all the facts have been impartially evaluated.*

It is commonplace to discover that two apparently irreconcilable stories are both rational and logical when they are evaluated apart from the differing systems of values that the two individuals may hold. Where conflicting systems of values are involved, one can appreciate the merits of both sides of the argument and be unable to reach any fair decision. Such situations are especially common in marriage counseling, in which both parties may be admirable personalities as individuals but are completely incompatible together. It therefore becomes a necessity to check all significant facts from as many impartial sources as possible. Since it is imperative to check every statement made by a mental case, the case history cannot be taken too carefully and in too great detail.

The Technique of History Taking

Since the objective of the case history is to make a longitudinal study of the individual's psychobiological development, it is desirable to obtain information concerning development and adjustment in each area of human activity. It will be convenient to elicit information more or less systematically and according to a definite outline. . . . An abbreviated outline of significant data in

the most important areas of life that it is usually desirable to sample is presented below. This outline should be expanded according to the needs of each individual case with an effort being made to investigate all possible details of development which may conceivably be related to present problems.

SUGGESTED OUTLINE OF CASE HISTORY

I. *Identifying Data:* Name, address, date and place of birth, race, marital status, educational status, religion, source of reference, data concerning informants. Mental age or IQ if known.

II. *Present Problems:* Give an exact account of all present difficulties in chronological order of their occurrence. Mention dates, special instances, and directed quotations from patient or informants when possible. Do not list delinquency or other specific charges unless verifying information is included (or available).

III. *Family History:* Include all significant data concerning father, mother, siblings, and other relatives. Mention names, birth dates and places, occupations, education, health, temperament, and personal peculiarities. Indicate especially habits, such as alcoholism, criminal or antisocial tendencies, nervous or mental disorders, convulsive disorders, and diseases, such as syphilis.

IV. *Past History:*

1. *Circumstances of Birth:* Pregnancy of mother, conditions of delivery, operative interference, complications of birth.
2. *Developmental History:* Age of sitting, standing, walking, talking, bladder and bowel control and any other significant data.
3. *Medical History:* Nature and dates of childhood diseases, injuries, accidents, and operations. Statements of growth characteristics, nutrition, and general health. Attitudes toward own health.
4. *Educational History:* School progress, highest grade attained

- and at what age, aptitudes and disabilities, marks, attitudes toward teachers and schoolmates, disciplinary problems, educational goals.
5. Emotional Developments: General characteristics of emotional life, predominant moods, stability and excitability, special problems such as temper tantrums or phobias, emotional conditionings and attitudes toward others.
 6. Sex Life: Age when first manifested, pattern of development, autoeroticism, homosexual tendencies, heterosexual adjustments, love affairs, marital adjustment, special problems.
 7. Social Development: Degree of sociability and adaptability. Play life, recreation and diversions. Self-confidence, dominance and submission. Patterns of social life, social acceptance by others. Asocial tendencies, criminal record, continued maladjustment.
 8. Work History: Nature and dates of employment steadiness and quality of work, attitudes toward work, frequency of job changes and reasons, future plans.
 9. Family Life: Attitudes and conduct toward parents, siblings, relatives, wife, children. Response to authority, criticism, little irritations. Previous engagements, separations, divorces, and reasons. Statement of general compatibility of areas of disagreement.
 10. Personal Habits: Eating, sleeping, play, work, sex, alcohol, drugs, tobacco. Behavior problems such as lying, stealing, truancy, stuttering, stammering, enuresis, tics, mannerisms.
 11. Attitudes toward Self: Inferiority feelings, dominant traits, neurotic disability, personality development, goals. Mental health.
 12. Socioeconomic Status: Economic level, unemployment, contacts with social agencies, living quarters, social level, reputation in neighborhood.

SUGGESTIONS FOR OBTAINING A GOOD HISTORY

1. There are no short cuts to obtaining a complete history. Do not hurry. Allot enough time in the all-important first interview to obtain an adequate orientation to the client's problems.
2. Let the patient tell his story in his own way, with a minimum of suggestion or direction.
3. After the basic outlines of the problem are visualized or if the client has difficulty in telling a coherent story, elicit further details according to some such outline as is given above. The use of an outline minimizes the chances of overlooking significant data.
4. Questions should be asked as nondirectively as possible. By simply asking How? When? Where? Why? the significant details can be elicited without suggesting specific answers.
5. Sex problems are best discussed during the first interview unless there are contraindications. Frank, common-sense questions usually elicit the same type of answers.
6. Make certain of the meaning of all critical words used by the client; laymen frequently confuse or misunderstand professional connotations.
7. Transcribe significant or representative samples of the client's statements verbatim. The facts in the case history should be transcribed as exactly as possible so that a third person may evaluate them as objective facts. Interpretations made by the psychologist should be clearly indicated as such.
8. It is frequently valuable to question in great detail the client's daily habits in life. What does he do in a typical day?
9. Significant details should be elaborated and checked by systematic cross-questioning

in order to obtain as complete information as possible.

10. Ask the client what he thinks and how he feels about significant things that have occurred. It is necessary to discover not only what happened but how the client reacted to it.

11. It is unwise to hazard a diagnosis without first inquiring what conclusions the client has reached by himself and also what other consultants have said.

12. It may take months to obtain all the

significant details of the case history. Each successive interview should be the basis for eliciting further details concerning the past history.

13. When resistance is encountered, indirect methods may prove more effective than insistent directive questionings. It is frequently effective for the clinician to cite experience derived from other cases in which the client may become so interested as to more freely relate the details of his own experience.

The following selection is one of the earlier articles written by Thorne soon after the emergence of the nondirective school. However, in comparing it with his recent writings, one observes that his position is basically similar. This article was selected from a series in which Thorne and others laid out the basic elements of directive counseling.

The article is concerned with the therapeutic benefit of imparting psychological information to counselees. Basic to this method is the assumption that effective adjustment is a function of (1) learning the causes of one's difficulties, and (2) learning more suitable behaviors with which to avoid future maladjustment. The emphasis upon intellectualized interpretation again emphasizes one of the differences between directive and client-centered counseling. However, Thorne does not make the assumption that intellectualized interpretation alone is a sufficient condition for improvement, for he indicates that it must usually be related to a constructive plan for future action.

The above two elements of effective adjustment can be appropriately related to school counseling. It is probably safe to assume that many school counselors operate on the hypothesis that a rational exposition of the cause of one's difficulties should result in some elimination of maladaptive behaviors. The question should be raised, however, as to how many counselors take the next step—that of interpreting the counseling interview as a learning situation and attempting to assist the student to learn to avoid behaviors that have caused him distress in the past. Unfortunately, too often a superficial interpretation is given, and the client is dismissed with a pat after having promised to do better from then on.

Attention might be called here to other techniques that are part of the directive counselor's repertoire of skills. One of these techniques is that of re-

assurance, which the directive counselor assumes to have therapeutic value. Thorne differentiates between the type of reassurance that is received at the hands of friends, a pastor, and others, and that which is given by a skillful clinician. Some of the basic types of reassurance responses used with the client are that:

- (1) the case is not unusual
- (2) the nature of the condition is known
- (3) symptoms are annoying but not dangerous
- (4) something can be done
- (5) a cure is possible
- (6) the client is not going crazy
- (7) relapses may occur
- (8) the client is not sinful or blameful.³

Reassurance to the directive counselor means "the strengthening of positive attitudes and the restoration of self-confidence by selectively reinforcing healthy behavior with rewards or incentives in the form of assurances. Reassurance is a natural psychological antidote for the negative emotions of fear, worry, doubt, and uncertainty."⁴

Techniques of "psychological palliation" are applied to individuals for the purpose of reducing the severity of a condition and giving relief. One rationale for palliative techniques is that in many cases progress toward effective adjustment cannot be made in the face of severe and distressing symptoms. It is often necessary to deal with the symptom before the basic causal relationships can be determined. Many clinical situations call for application of such techniques. Among these are major crises during adjustment, minor periods of instability, the presence of seemingly insoluble problems, and the existence of distressing symptoms.⁵

At this point the reader should explore the implications of the techniques of "psychological palliation" for the counselor in the school situation. What are the advantages as well as limitations of the use of reassurance as a technique for students in school? To what extent has reassurance become one of the main techniques upon which counselors base much of their interaction with students? How often does the counselor find himself faced with a situation in which palliative measures might profitably be invoked? In dealing with students at various developmental levels, to what extent can minor crises and apparently insoluble problems be in part resolved by the technique of psychological palliation? Here again observation tends to indicate that the school counselor's interaction with the individual is often arrested at the level of intellectualized interpretation followed by techniques of reassurance, usually without the skill called for by Thorne in their application.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-274.

IMPARTING PSYCHOLOGICAL INFORMATION

In evaluating methods suitable for the clinical psychologist in counseling the problems of normal people, it is important to consider certain basic differences in the therapeutic approach to maladjustment in otherwise healthy well-integrated personalities as compared with psychiatric approaches to more serious disorders involving psychosis or neurosis. The maladjusted normal person still retains an intact intellect, a relatively stable emotional life, and his usual degree of voluntary self-control over conduct. Unlike the psychotic or severe psychoneurotic who is characterized by more or less severe impairment of personality resources and lack of insight, the maladjusted normal person is capable of effective self-regulation once he learns (a) the causes of his difficulties, and (b) more suitable patterns of behavior with which to avoid maladjustment in the future. The problems of maladjusted normal people are related to the psychology of learning (or faulty learning) and in this area of counseling and psychotherapy the clinical psychologist has a unique contribution to offer because of specialized training. It is our contention that the counseling of normal people requires a group of specialized techniques different from modern psychiatric methods, and that extensive psychiatric experience does not necessarily render a person competent to deal with simple behavior problems. Psychiatric procedures involving several hundred hours of interviewing may be appropriate and essential with psychotics and neurotics but are unnecessary and even contraindicated in the counseling of normal people. A competent psychologist can frequently diagnose and treat simple human problems in a few short interviews of one hour or less which are both practical and economic.

One of the functions of the psychologist is

to act as a consultant whose technical training enables him to be of assistance to those in need of reliable psychological information. In the same manner as the lawyer furnishes legal information which may be valuable in conducting a business, the psychologist should be competent to provide psychological information which is valuable to the normal person in regulating his affairs more effectively. The purpose of this paper is to consider methods, indications, and contraindications for making available psychological information in directive counseling and psychotherapy.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

On the basis of broad training and experience in scientific psychology the competent clinical psychologist possesses factual information which may be of value in solving human problems and supporting mental health. The question at issue concerns how this information may be imparted to the client in such manner that it is accepted and acted upon without threat to personal integrity or mental health. With reference to the criticisms which have been directed against directive therapy by proponents of nondirective therapy as represented by Rogers, it is our experience that the imparting of factual information by a competent clinician does not inevitably (a) interfere with "client-centered" approaches to psychotherapy, (b) negate the principle of autonomous regulation of personality, (c) interfere with normal processes of growth and maturation, (d) arouse hostility or other undesirable negative personality reactions, or (e) interfere with such nondirective techniques as accepting, expressing, or clarifying feelings. On the contrary, the judicious imparting of pertinent

[From F. C. Thorne, "Imparting Psychological Information," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 2 (1946): 179-190. Reprinted by permission of the *Journal of Clinical Psychology*.]

facts can be of great value in facilitating and supplementing other techniques. If major criticism is to be directed against imparting information, it should be made on the grounds that such information can only be as valid as the experience and clinical judgment of the psychologist make it. Much of the criticism which has been directed against psychologists in the past is related to their *inexpert* use of valid methods.

Psychological Competence

It is not our purpose here to review the qualifications of training and experience which render the clinical psychologist competent to undertake the counseling of normal people. Specialization in this field demands a comprehensive knowledge of physiology, biology, normal psychology, elementary neuropsychiatry, anthropology, sociology, economics, business administration, and a practical experience with the almost infinite variety of individual problems. This does not imply that the psychologist must become a qualified expert in each of these fields but only that he possess sufficient knowledge to become aware of the existence of problems specific to each field, i.e., a person does not need to be a professional ballplayer to know when the game is being played expertly. In related fields the psychologist needs to be competent enough to recognize the indications for calling in specialized consultants when he cannot handle the problem himself. One of the types of information which the psychologist should be able to impart involves the referral of clients to other agencies for specialized nonpsychological services.

Elasticity of Method

We are in agreement with Rank that the best technique consists in following no rigid rules or system but in adjusting the method to the specific needs of each individual situation. "*Dynamic therapy is derived momentarily from the interplay of forces given in the situation and immediately applied.*" There may be utilized any method which seems expedient with no hesitation in

experimenting with many different techniques until the desired results are obtained. Recognizing that each person has his own individual approach to life's problems, infinite variations are permissible in stimulating the client to solve the problem in his own way with only a minimum of regulation or directive interference. Further research needs to be done concerning the various possibilities of combining directive and nondirective methods, for example in utilizing nondirective methods in eliciting the nature of the maladjustment and clarifying feelings toward it and then shifting to directive methods when the client is unable through lack of psychological knowledge to proceed to a solution. There are many degrees of directiveness (or nondirectiveness) and we need clearer indications for utilizing any particular technique.

The Client's Resources

One of the first decisions which needs to be made concerns the client's ability to solve his problems through utilization of his own inner resources. For practical purposes it seems convenient to establish a general rule that the more seriously ill or defective a patient, the more necessary it becomes to utilize directive methods which supplement his inadequate resources until such time as he again becomes capable of intelligent self-regulation. With intact personality resources and adequate factual knowledge, nondirective methods may suffice. Where the client lacks factual information necessary for the solution of his problems or in the presence of serious degrees of defect or disorder, there is clear indication for such directive methods as are necessary to provide resources adequate for the handling of the situation. Whether or not the client is able to verbalize his needs objectively, a normal person usually seeks consultation with the psychologist to obtain information or relief from symptoms which he has been unable to secure by himself. The experience of the psychologist will determine how quickly and adequately these needs are diagnosed and remedied. It

is frequently possible, on the basis of broad clinical experience with similar personality types and situations, for the psychologist to diagnose areas of maladjustment from his evaluation of the resources of the organism as a whole without any actual knowledge of past history. For example, recognition of the fact that the client is constitutionally inadequate, physically unattractive, and ineffectual in expression and action immediately suggests to the psychologist that his difficulties are probably related to the frustration and feelings of inferiority commonly experienced by this type of personality.

Evaluating Emotional Status

An attempt should be made to differentiate between (a) emotional states which are primary in that they are related to temperament or affective disorders, and (b) emotional states which represent personality reactions to more fundamental etiological factors. *Reactive* emotional states are generally regarded to have a better prognosis and to resolve themselves spontaneously when the primary stimulus is removed. Affective disorders and idiosyncrasies of temperament are much more difficult to deal with and require special techniques usually psychiatric in nature. The significance of this differentiation for the psychologist lies in the fact that his diagnosis of the emotional state will determine his choice of therapeutic method. If the client is simply emotionally upset in reaction to his failure to solve nonemotional problems, it may suffice to recognize, accept, and clarify these feelings and then proceed to impart the information necessary to solve the primary problem. The psychologist may proceed by imparting technical information concerning the nature and causes of emotional upsets, how other people have handled similar problems, and any other information which scientific psychology may have to offer concerning self-understanding.

Where emotional states represent constitutional personality reactions to problems, it seems obvious that recognition and clarification of feelings operate only on symptomatic

levels and that attention must be directed to primary etiological factors. Nondirective methods may have value in removing emotional blocks which have prevented the client from utilizing his own resources maximally or in making him receptive to constructive external influences, but we cannot agree that they are essential or indicated in many counseling problems in which emotional problems are not primary. Well chosen directive methods are frequently effective in alleviating primary nonemotional causes of maladjustment following which emotional reactions spontaneously disappear whether or not symptomatic treatment is given. It is necessary to do more than to uncover sources of conflict and etiological factors underlying maladjustment. The dynamic therapy of Rank attempts to go beyond the Freudian principle that "knowledge is curative, that the making conscious of the unconscious cures the neurosis." After having recognized and clarified feelings and conflicts, it is usually necessary to go beyond the stage of understanding and to elaborate a constructive plan for future action. Sometimes the client can work this out for himself but frequently matters are facilitated by imparting valid psychological information concerning such problems.

Educational vs. Therapeutic Objectives

Broadly speaking, the counseling interview represents a new kind of educational experience for the client. We prefer to emphasize that the client comes to *learn* new attitudes and new methods for approaching his problems. The function of the psychologist is not to rebuild the personality of the client or to plan his life but to catalyze better adjustment by imparting such information as the client needs to resolve his own difficulties. Under ideal conditions, the counseling situation should make available a wide variety of constructive experiences which are conducive to the learning of newer and more adequate patterns of living. One of the most constructive factors in this situation is that the client learns how to utilize professional resources without any implication that

he requires treatment for a morbid condition. There is much less stigma attached to visiting a psychologist as compared to psychiatric treatment and this may be constructively utilized.

One of the objectives of education is to make available to the young the accumulated experience of mankind. Ideally, young people would adjust most painlessly if the facts of life could be systematically taught so that a minimum of trial-and-error experimentation is necessitated. In reality, however, great gaps occur in the education of every child either because learning opportunities are not available or because the child does not grasp what is presented. Devices need to be perfected to make available accumulated wisdom concerning the psychology of adjustment to each child in such manner that it would be accepted emotionally and intellectually. Although it is theoretically desirable to extend complete freedom of expression for each person in working out the potentialities of his own personality, it is also valuable to protect him from unwise decisions and dangerous experimentation. There are many situations in which the young person has not accumulated enough experience upon which to base a rational decision. The psychologist is in a strategic position to provide the factual information necessary to solve the problem and in selected instances even to guide the person to an acceptable solution.

TECHNIQUE

The Client's Attitude

Choice of methods to be used in imparting information depends primarily upon the intellectual and emotional attitudes shown by the client during the counseling interviews. The psychologist will usually be able to sense (a) whether the client comes for counseling of his own volition or at the request of others, (b) whether his attitude is genuinely receptive or whether cooperation is only superficial, (c) whether emotional states are interfering with receptiveness and must be dealt with first, (d) the presence of

unhealthy ego drives causing negativism and resistance, and (e) how quickly and readily the client can assimilate and act upon what he is learning. The psychologist can rarely follow any preconceived schedule of his own but must adjust the program and tempo to the developmental progress of the client. The counseling must be client-centered with the psychologist interjecting only as much as may be needed to keep the client headed in constructive directions. Progress will be made in irregular advances with the client occasionally remaining on a plateau for longer or shorter periods until some further insight is achieved. The following abbreviated sketches illustrate variations in the client's attitude which indicate the use of different methods.

Case 1. T.L., female; age seventeen; high school senior. An attractive intellectually precocious girl referred because of precocious sex interests and escapades, poor social adjustment with girls her own age, highly irregular exhibitionistic behavior and extreme displays of temperament making it difficult to get along with her.

During the first three counseling interviews she talked continuously about herself in a very affected manner. After she had talked herself out and satisfied her egoistic desires to demonstrate what a superior person she was, she finally settled down to a rational discussion of the ways in which her behavior could be altered in the direction of better adjustment. She readily comprehended psychological interpretations and became genuinely interested in the psychology of social situations. She is rapidly learning to make friends and influence people in more socially accepted ways.

Case 2. R.T., male; age sixteen; high school junior. Came to the clinic on his own initiative to learn how to organize study habits more effectively. His teachers had told him that his accomplishment was not in proportion to

his intelligence. He had read some magazine articles and wished to learn more scientific ways of making his work more efficient. No emotional problems were discovered and he was directed toward textbooks and other reliable sources of information.

Case 3. J.P., female; age twenty-two; junior college student. Brought to the clinic by her mother who felt that she was developing a serious mental disorder. J. had suddenly stopped studying at junior college, announced that she was bored with everything, didn't care whether she failed everything or not, and brought matters to a climax by breaking so many dormitory rules that she was expelled. On arriving home she announced that she was fed up with living in her small town because she had nothing in common with anybody including her own parents. She began spending most of her time reading in her room, staying in bed until noon and listening to the radio until late at night.

Sensing tense emotional attitudes between mother and daughter, J.P. was allowed to express many ambivalent feelings toward her mother who she felt did not understand her and was meddling in her affairs. After her feelings had been clarified and a decision reached that she had no serious mental disorder but was rebelling against maternal overregulation, the interviews then proceeded to a rational discussion of how she could achieve the ambitions which she had thought out for herself and which were not being satisfied at junior college.

The attitude of the client is particularly important because it will determine his reaction to critical attitudes, regulation and even punishment. Jenkins points out that "if punishment is to have a constructive effect, it is essential that the child feel loved, or at least accepted, and be able to recognize the punishment as a limited disapproval of some

limited and modifiable aspect of his behavior." Similar comments must apply to the counseling situation in which it is important to dissuade the client from interpreting his referral for counseling as being evidence of dislike, hostility, or being looked down upon by his associates. If counseling is to be really effective it must occasionally deal with matters which are unpleasant for the client to consider and the counseling relationship must be positive enough so that it is capable of carrying the client over these difficult and unpleasant moments. It is most important to stress the concept that all is not black or white, that the client is about 95 percent right and that the interest of the counselor is to straighten out the 5 percent of problem behavior which is responsible for the maladjustment. The client can accept the need for resolving minor defects as long as he understands that his behavior is on the whole acceptable.

Personality of the Psychotherapist

Although systems such as psychoanalysis and nondirective counseling attempt to minimize the role of the therapist's personality in determining the final results of treatment, the influence of this factor is very important in face-to-face counseling where personal methods and attitudes are important determiners of interpersonal relations. Unfortunately there have been few studies in psychology of the personality characteristics of effective counselors. Psychiatry, and particularly psychoanalysis, has given more attention to detailed studies of the personalities of renowned therapists. The study by Gildea and Gildea of the personalities of the famed American psychiatrists Austin F. Riggs, Silas Weir Mitchell, and Thomas Salmon is interesting because of the insight given into the relation between the personality of each therapist and the methods which he was able to use. The persuasiveness of Riggs, the reassurance which Salmon was able to instill, the authoritative direction of Mitchell—all need to be studied to understand how different personalities accomplish their ends. Although different personalities may learn to

use the same methods effectively, there still remains a personal factor which explains why one therapist is successful while his classmate fails.

As Steinmetz has recently pointed out, scholarly familiarity with textbook learning is unfortunately not necessarily correlated with clinical ability as is evidenced by the fact that some of the most renowned professors have the most ineffectual clinical personalities. It is important for every counselor to use methods which are particularly suited to his own personality and to study and modify his own personality to develop it to maximum effectiveness. As stated in a previous paper, it is our opinion that nondirective methods are easier to master than directive methods which may seem simple to the beginner but which are actually more difficult to apply *precisely* because of the greater experience and judgment needed when one assumes the responsibility of guiding or manipulating the personality of another person. As with so many human activities, it is not so much *what* one does but *how* he does it which is important. The personal factor in counseling and psychotherapy lies in the individual skill and clinical judgment with which standard methods are applied.

Exploring Alternative Courses of Action

The inexperienced counselor is frequently tempted to dissuade a client from unwise courses of action through direct prohibitions, authoritative pressures, or regulatory advice. After he finds that the client ignores such crude directive measures and stubbornly adheres to his own course, the counselor learns to utilize more subtle and indirect methods of influencing behavior. A more effectual method is that which seeks to stimulate the client to explore for himself the possible advantages and disadvantages of several alternative plans by providing such information as is needed to evaluate the various possibilities rationally. The client has frequently been unaware that other possibilities exist or has been blocked by such personality factors as unhealthy emotional states. On the basis of psychological knowledge of

effects and consequences, the counselor is frequently able to impart information which is of value to the client in reaching his own solution. Once the client recognizes that the counselor is not assuming an authoritarian judgmental attitude but is merely offering his experience as an aid to rational discussion, he usually drops his negativistic defensive attitude and begins to regard his problems as interesting objects for study. A common counseling situation is that in which it seems wise to dissuade a client from embarking upon an unwise course of action which threatens his entire security. . . .

We have found these methods to be particularly effective in counseling intelligent college students who are apt to commit excesses from youthful indiscretion and optimism. Frank discussion of controversial plans for action is readily accepted if the student respects the counselor and learns that psychological viewpoints are valuable in solving life's problems.

Imparting Critical Attitudes

Whether he wishes to or not, every counselor is frequently called upon to intervene in situations involving authority or disciplinary action. Particularly in institutions and educational positions is the psychologist called upon where other methods have failed and in which the urgency of the situation requires that concrete action be taken immediately. One particular situation of this nature is that in which it becomes necessary to communicate to a person the critical attitudes of others about him. It may seem desirable to influence a person to alter his conduct completely and immediately in order to avoid the displeasure and retaliatory action of his associates. The quickest way to accomplish the desired changes may be to give advice which, if accepted, would alleviate the most pressing maladjustments with a minimum of discomfort to all. Another method is to impart the necessary information in such subtle manner that its recipient does not take offense and is inclined to act upon it.

Many children and extroverted persons

have little insight into the fact of their maladjustment and little sensitivity to the critical attitudes of others. Far from being emotionally disturbed by their predicament they blithely ignore critical attitudes and seem genuinely surprised to discover that others consider them to be behavior problems. It becomes the function of the counselor to impart the fact of critical attitudes and to assist the client in discovering alternative patterns of conduct which will be more socially acceptable. If the client can be led to face reality and take steps to correct his shortcomings, a desirable result may often be quickly accomplished.

Case 5. I.N., male; age twenty-three; medical student. Although with many pleasing traits of personality he was cordially disliked by instructors and classmates because of his gruff, "big-shot" manner. Was singularly insensitive to the attitudes of others even though he was secretly disturbed and confused at not being invited to join his father's medical fraternity in spite of generous spending and crude attempts to be friendly.

Tactful efforts to direct his attention to shortcomings produced no results. Finally one of his classmates was goaded in self-defense to tell him in no uncertain terms what others thought of him. For the first time he showed evidence of wanting help with his problems. In a few short interviews the counselor was able to point out the causes of most of his difficulties which he was intelligent enough to accept and act upon. . . .

Crises in Counseling

Most counseling situations are not critical in the sense that the most serious consequences will result unless drastic action is taken. Under average conditions counseling can be carried on smoothly without need to make life-or-death decisions and a leisurely nondirective approach allows the client to

work through to his own solutions without advice or regulation from the counselor. Occasionally, however, critical situations arise in counseling in which it seems indicated for the counselor to act decisively in influencing the client to accept some definite plan for resolving an acute emergency situation. Where specific directive action seems indicated on ethical, moral, or psychological grounds, the counselor should not hesitate to influence the client to follow whatever plan of action seems to offer the best chances of avoiding serious maladjustment. . . .

It frequently requires immediate and decisive intervention to protect the client from the possible disastrous consequences of his own impulsive action. Many of the cases reported in illustration of nondirective counseling methods have not involved acute maladjustment from which serious complications were impending and there is therefore some question how adequate nondirective methods are in this type of case. What should the counselor do when he discovers that the client has committed or is contemplating the commission of a serious crime? What should the counselor do when he discovers that his client, a fifteen-year-old girl, is illegitimately pregnant and is considering an abortion or some other drastic step? These and other decisive matters of technique require carefully controlled research for their solution. Our opinion is that when directive methods or intervention will almost certainly prevent the possibility of unwise action, it is not desirable to experiment with nondirective methods which are much less certain in their probable outcome. Among his other obligations, the counselor must protect the immature young person or the emotionally unstable adult from the potentially disastrous results of lack of judgment and impulsiveness.

Details of Methods

There are an almost infinite number of methods for imparting information which it is desired the client should learn. If it does not seem tactful to tell him directly, numerous devices can be arranged for him to

find out for himself. He can be referred to books, study courses and other sources of reliable scientific information. If he happens to be a member of a lecture class or undergoing group therapy, matters can be discussed impersonally with use of suitable illustrative cases. If he is a well-integrated extrovert he can be told bluntly, while a sensitive introvert may need to be led slowly and indirectly to self-realization. Whatever the method used, facts should be carefully selected and objectively presented. Every effort should be taken to maintain an impartial, nonjudgmental manner of presentation devoid of personal emotional attitudes which might stimulate negativistic defensive reactions in the client.

Discussion

In our opinion, much of the criticism recently directed against the giving of advice as a method of therapy deserves to be re-evaluated in terms of the values of such directive methods in the hands of skilled competent counselors. The therapeutic efficacy of directive methods is limited by the same factors of clinical experience and judgment which determine the therapeutic outcome of nondirective methods. We do not know of any competent clinicians who are still utilizing crude methods of exhortation, persuasion, and advising such as were used a generation ago by inexperienced personnel and are still in use by charlatans. Twenty years ago the counselor did not have our knowledge of psychodynamics and was forced to use ethical or theological approaches to the problems of "good" or "bad" behavior. Today the crude giving of advice has been replaced by a variety of techniques with the same general objective, i.e., guiding the client to self-development and realization by making available to him the necessary information upon which to reach a rational or an emotionally healthy decision. Techniques for imparting valid psychological information in such a manner that the client can accept and assimilate without developing undue resentment or resistance are a valuable part of the psychotherapeutic armamentarium

and, judiciously utilized, can do much to shorten the course of treatment. When applied with the same wisdom and safeguards for the integrity of the client as are accepted practice in modern psychotherapy, we do not see why this type of educational experience should be any more dangerous than any other learning situation. In the same manner as the client needs to have certain information available to solve problems in economics, it seems reasonable that counseling should provide him with information concerning the most modern psychological methods for resolving psychosocial problems. The problem is not whether psychological information should be imparted, but how it can be imparted in a manner which safeguards the patient's integrity.

SUMMARY

One of the functions of the psychologist in counseling normal people is to impart reliable scientific information concerning the psychology of adjustment. Viewed as an educational experience, the counseling interview should make available a wide variety of resources enabling the client to *learn* more adequate ways of solving his problems. Since the emphasis is on learning the psychology of adjustment rather than on treating a morbid condition, psychological counseling does not necessarily involve the stigma so unfortunately associated with visiting a psychiatrist. There is no implication of mental disease, but simply of learning to use psychology more effectively. Using elastic methods adjusted to the dynamic interplay of forces in the counseling situation, the psychologist is able to evaluate the client's resources and to impart information and psychological understanding. Technical discussions of the indications and contraindications of the method are presented together with illustrative case studies. Irrespective of the causes for their maladjustment, most normal persons are able to utilize psychological information in making better adjustment to life.

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Counseling: Continuing Problems

23. COUNSELING AND DISCIPLINE

24. ETHICS IN COUNSELING

25. GUIDANCE FOR THE GIFTED

26. TRAINING

27. RESEARCH IN COUNSELING

THIS chapter deals with some selected problems in counseling that have particular relevance to guidance activity in the public schools. Included are (1) the relationship between counseling and discipline, (2) ethical considerations underlying counseling activity, (3) counseling of the exceptional child, (4) problems in training of counselors and in in-service training, and (5) problems of research in counseling.

Inclusion of the above areas does not mean, of course, that there are no other major, continuing problems that effect the operation of guidance services in the public schools. The reader would probably profit from trying to extend the above list and to determine the extent to which the various problems seem to be important in his own public school setting. Emphasis might also be given to consideration of how some of these problems might be partially resolved.

23. COUNSELING AND DISCIPLINE

The subject of counseling and discipline seems to evoke perpetual interest in the minds of school people. Part of the issue revolves around the question of the extent to which counseling is a disciplinary activity. However, before we can make a direct examination of the relationship between the two, effort should be turned toward formulating a definition of discipline. It is necessary that we have a clear-cut understanding of the frame of reference of the individual who is using the term "discipline."

Discipline as currently used has essentially two dimensions: One is that of the traditional use which implies externally imposed authority and compulsion; the other is a concept that implies self-discipline and self-direction. Within the framework of the first definition, most observers would categorically separate the counseling and disciplinary function; within the frame of reference of the second, most counselors would accept counseling and discipline as being very closely related.

Warters says that:

If discipline is interpreted as the fixing of blame and the giving of penalties, then very definitely the counselor should not play a role in discipline; for to do so would make it very difficult for him to maintain a satisfactory counseling relationship with the student. If however, discipline is seen, as interpreted by Spencer—in the 1860's—as character education and the development of controls from within to replace controls by some outer authority, and if behavior problems are seen as symptoms of maladjustment with a need for assistance rather than of moral depravity, and a need for retaliation or punishment, then the counselor should play a major role in discipline.¹

The most important point here is that the individual counselor or teacher should formulate his own definition of discipline and have a clear-cut understanding of the frame of reference of others when considering the relationship between counseling and discipline.

In the public schools any misunderstanding of this relationship becomes extremely serious. It is intimately related to the level of understanding that teaching and administrative personnel have about the functions, goals, and objectives of the guidance program and the roles of guidance personnel. Too often the teacher and administrator perceive the counselor as a disciplinarian, and when their level of expectation with respect to the desirable changes in

¹ Jane Warters, *High School Personnel Work Today* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 173-174.

the counselee is not immediately met, their conclusion then is often to assume that guidance and counseling is ineffective. In the past this has too often militated against guidance services. Unfortunately, even the school counselor sometimes has an inadequate understanding of the relationship between the two, or he considers himself a disciplinarian in the "coercive-authoritarian" point of view. In such situations it would be safe to predict that the results of counseling and guidance would be limited indeed.

The necessity for an adequately defined relationship between counseling and discipline cannot be ignored. It is of great concern to public school educators and involves an extensive amount of re-education and in-service training on the part of guidance workers with individuals who will tend to be quite resistant to the ideas presented—i.e., the idea that counseling and discipline, as traditionally conceived, are separate concepts. The counselor who understands the concepts implied will reject the cloak of externally imposed disciplinary authority, else he will soon lose his effectiveness in the situation.

How acceptable does Williamson's basic thesis seem to be? Do Williamson's and Warters' points of view seem to be in disagreement?

The reader should examine Williamson's article carefully with the purpose of clarifying his own concept of discipline so that he may increase his effectiveness and justify his position when confronted with anxious criticism by other teachers. A basic criterion differentiating disciplinary activity from counseling should be whether or not there is anything in the situation which would deteriorate the relationship between the counselor and the client, and lessen the future effectiveness of counseling in the school.

THE FUSION OF DISCIPLINE AND COUNSELING IN THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS

<i>Discipline is characterized as</i>	<i>Counseling is described as</i>
repressive	growth producing
regulatory	ego strengthening
forced conformity	self-regulating
law abiding	affect integration
orderliness	confidence development
imposed	self-initiated
forced control	self-centered

Of the many opposite and contradictory concepts to be found in the literature of education, discipline and counseling are perhaps most sharply separated.

Discipline and counseling differ sharply in other respects:

Discipline is imposed by external restraining authority of parents, teachers, fellow pupils, community mores, law authorities, or principals. It is not requested by pupils in

[From E. G. Williamson, "The Fusion of Discipline and Counseling in the Educational Process," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 34 (1955): 74-79. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

elementary school and least of all by high school students whose idea of a pure democracy is a society of adolescents with no adults anywhere in the vicinity.

Counseling long has been a self-initiated relationship at the adolescent age and a seemingly wanted one at the child level. It is centered not on the community, school, or group but upon the individual and his own unique problems—as though he were more important than everyone else in the home, school, and community. This centering of counseling upon the isolated individual pupil has been characterized recently as an instance of individual relativism as opposed to cultural relativism.

Discipline is a "public" matter in two respects: It is imposed conformity to other persons, and there is nothing private or confidential about it. One either conforms voluntarily publicly to group requirements or else one is compelled to do so by social pressures, punishment, or some other means of regulation.

Counseling is highly personal and confidential. Except for certain persons who are motivated to be abnormal publicly, most persons desire to discuss their intimate adjustments with one counselor at a time. This is the reason that the highly prized confidentiality of counseling is a necessity—the pupil desires it, profits most through it, and suffers relapses when it is dissipated. From the viewpoint of a counselor, the absence of privacy and confidentiality are among the four most devastating weaknesses in most programs of discipline. The ineffective use of punishment for rehabilitation is a third weakness, and the fourth is the inhuman, impersonal manner in which human beings often are handled and processed, sometimes even in education.

Discipline, as I am now using the term, is a discordant note in that type of education designed to stimulate growth of individuality—social, moral, and intellectual. Indeed, forcing conformity in behavior is often an indication that other educational methods have failed and that in desperation

we have abandoned efforts to persuade and have turned to the use of superior authority. It needs to be re-emphasized, however, that many times we face situations in which too much damage to morale has been done to permit persuasion to have any effect. In such cases, we must use compulsion, but we must not deceive ourselves that we are using an educational method. And we ought to return to persuasion as soon as we can.

Let me continue my contrast of discipline and counseling. I am leading up to a redefinition of discipline achieved by fusing the two into a new type of relationship between teacher and administrator, on the one hand, and pupils and students, on the other.

In a distant university, a teacher of counseling is said to have told his trainees: No counselor should have anything to do with registration of students in subjects or with discipline. Presumably, in such a school, unruly and destructive behavior would be handled by the principal or superintendent, and they, harassed by many other pressures and crises, quickly would be forced to dispose of disciplinary cases by assigning penalties, once guilt has been established. As one result of such "drum head" justice, resentment would be added to conflict and the pupil would make a test case to determine who was boss. Such conflict psychology of relationship would often preclude rehabilitation.

Moreover, the counselor, in such a school, would be freed from such conflict so that he could deal with the "behaving" students about their personal problems. Thus the delinquents, who most desperately need clarification of their own chaotic emotions, would often turn to stronger misbehavior as a substitute of counseling.

And counseling, by avoiding such disciplinary responsibilities, would become limited in its usefulness since it takes place only with "good" citizens in the school or home, requires voluntary seeking of counseling, and is of no help in dealing with the pupils who rebel against conformity. These con-

sequences might not be a serious matter if we were content to dismiss delinquency and disciplinary cases by asserting that they are caused by pure cussedness, moral depravity, and other uncontrollable factors and that "nice" persons don't behave that way.

But we now know that misbehavior occurs in some pupils who are otherwise fine persons and quite capable of good citizenship. It is to discover the correctible causes of misbehavior that I believe discipline must be infused with counseling. Discipline as punishment is not corrective of misbehavior unless it is a part or a consequence of a counseling relationship. Alone, punishment is repressive and growth arresting. With counseling, it can become educative, corrective, and growth producing.

This is my thesis, and I now turn to a defense of it.

Many counselors are willing to be used as consultants in exploring the deeper motivations underlying misbehavior, but they understandably do not wish to play any role whatsoever when it comes to imposing restrictions and "punishment" upon the offending student. They wish to be completely without authority and to be perceived by the client as having no possible authority which could be a threat to him. Rather do they wish to serve as his advocate and friend even to the extent of pleading his case with the school authority.

In terms of its effectiveness in maintaining counseling relationships, such a course of action is necessary. But the principal is thus segregated and symbolized with all the trappings of "harsh" authority and is often perceived by the counselor and misbehaving student alike as being a repressive and threatening authority symbol. In my opinion, the counselor does not play his full and proper counseling role in an educational institution when he thus completely segregates and separates himself from such an authority symbol.

It seems to me that, in addition to the consultant role, there are three other functions that counselors properly have in disciplinary

situations: first, counseling as active rehabilitation of misbehaving offenders; second, the prevention of misbehavior through counseling to achieve normal development in inner-control of self; and, finally, counseling as a way of aiding students to perceive and to accept that external authority which influences inner development and modifies unbridled individualism.

Counseling as Rehabilitation. My point is best illustrated by quoting from the field of child psychology. In her delightful book, *New Ways in Discipline*, Baruch has illuminated the major revolution that has taken place in the home with respect to the parental-child relationship, now reconstructed so that counseling techniques, emphasis, and points of view are built into the changed normal relationship of parent and child. Baruch's book is replete with insightful transposing reorientation guidelines, such as: "If a child *misbehaves*, we'll recognize that he must have *unsatisfied emotional needs* . . . we'll try to *satisfy* it all we can." And again, "When unwanted *negative feelings* have been emptied out sufficiently then —warm and good *positive feelings* flow in." And again, "*All children need release and acceptance of 'mean' feelings. All children have 'mean' feelings that need to be released.*" The logic of therapy as rehabilitation in disciplinary cases is thus made clear. Misbehavior stems from the repression of "mean" feelings, and if the "mean" feelings are aired, brought up to the level of conscious communication, then the basic drive for misbehavior is lessened, if not eliminated. Rehabilitation consists, therefore, of straightforward therapy in which the individual finds substitute channels for his repressed feelings of aggression and disappointment.

So far so good. But it is one thing for the parent-child to restructure the relationship within the imposition of the home in which the child is scarcely willing or able to reject the parent, except symbolically; it is quite another thing for an adolescent, with some degree of possible freedom to reject a nonparental relationship, to be given

that kind of release therapy which he does not want because he does not see the necessity of correcting his misbehavior or of being rehabilitated through counseling relationships. Here we run squarely into the complex problems of imposed counseling relationships. Counseling as rehabilitation in a disciplinary situation seems to work well when it is accepted by the counselee, but when it is not thus accepted, such voluntary counseling obviously will not be operative—according to the assumption of current therapists. Our experiences lead us to question the generalization that in all instances and in all respects, imposed counseling relationships are ineffective as well as "bad." I shall return to this point below.

There is a second way in which counseling can serve as the rehabilitation of offending students, and that way is through the transposition of points of view, techniques, and emphases from the customary one-to-one relationship of the counseling interview to the entire school situation. In much the same way as parent-child relationships in the home are now being restructured according to counseling generalizations and experiences, likewise the entire school atmosphere and the relationships between teachers and students, principals and students, and teachers and parents may be restructured with the counseling interview serving as a model. In many schools, such a revolution is well under way, but there are many counselors who do not accept this opportunity to extend the influence of counseling far beyond the one-to-one counseling interview.

Prevention of Misbehavior through Counseling. I come to my second point, the use of counseling techniques and emphases to facilitate the achievement of normal development of *self-control* and *self-discipline*. Every counselor understands some phases of the process by means of which warm and positive feelings become a normal part of the child's development through the maintenance of satisfying affective relationships with others and with adults. Optimum de-

velopment of the individual is indeed achievable, as far as affect is concerned, through the emotional climate of the school and home in which the child is encouraged, assisted, and permitted to grow up with a minimum of repression and negative attitudes and feelings.

Baruch summarizes this generalization with respect to misbehavior and behavior when she says, "The more we accept a child's FEELINGS, the more will he accept our RULES." It is quite true that if the relationships of the home and school are satisfying, affectively, to the child, then there seems to be little motivation for misbehaving; that is, the child thus achieves satisfaction through conforming to the requirements of his social environment, and there is no desire or motivation to do otherwise. He is, in this sense, a normally developing individual, and he does not experience the necessity of conflicting or warring with his environment because his environment thwarts him. Thus developing effective school situations provides another opportunity for counselors to prevent misbehavior.

Counseling as an Aid to Perception and Acceptance of External Authority. I turn to my third point, counseling as a process of reorientation to the reality of external authority. As a facilitator of normal development, the school counselor enters the disciplinary situation, or at least can enter it, in a new and in many ways more important role, as an educator-counselor who seeks to help the misbehaving student perceive and accept the role of authority as it impinges upon his own "autonomous" inner life and behavior. Within the friendly home, the consequences of misbehavior are soon forgotten, and there is frequently no external legal authority acting for society to impose consequences, restrictions, and limitations upon the autonomy of the individual in the light of or as a result of his misbehavior. In most home-centered misbehavior, all is soon forgiven, and certainly the term "punishment" has no long-term connotation. But as a child grows into adolescence and begins to mis-

behave away from his home, all is not so readily forgiven and forgotten. Consequences flow from misbehavior and are sometimes legally imposed in the form of punishment as retribution following upon the heels of misbehavior. It is at this point that the counselor can play a very significant role in helping the individual to learn to live in a universe in which his autonomy is hedged about and "infringed" upon by external authority and to understand how the role of the forgiving parent, who generates positive feelings and warmth, is often set aside in many instances by a harsh, repressive, and sometimes vengeful authority symbol-role.

I am not advocating that a counselor enter into partnership with such a vengeful authority. But I feel certain that a counselor can play a significant role in helping the individual to perceive, and to accept emotionally, the inevitability of authority in some form or another acting as a restrictive agency upon the individual's free play of self-directed freedom. This learning is a profound one and most necessary in a democratic society of cooperative and interrelated individual persons. To be sure, it is not easy to teach such a generalization to an individual who has come into conflict with that society, or even in conflict with other individuals in a small, restricted club or school. Such an individual has already alienated himself from other individuals and from authority by his misbehavior. How then can he be aided to accept that which he has flaunted? As Kurt Lewin so cogently states:

We can now formulate the dilemma which re-education has to face in this way: How can free acceptance of a new system of values be brought about if the person who is to be educated is, in the nature of things, likely to be hostile to the new values and loyal to the old? . . .

Re-education influences conduct only when the new system of values and be-

liefs dominates the individual's perception. The acceptance of the new system is linked with the acceptance of a specific group, a particular role, a definite source of authority as new points of reference. It is basic for re-education that this linkage between acceptance of new facts or values and acceptance of certain groups or roles is very intimate and that the second frequently is a prerequisite for the first. [1]

At this point counselors can and should, I believe, pioneer in testing Lewin's hypothesis by searching for counseling techniques that will aid a misbehaving individual to learn and to like the "imposed" role and the new values required of him as a member of a group, his home, and his school.

I have now stated what I mean by the fusion of discipline and counseling in an educative process—discipline becomes not "forced" conformity or punishment, but a type of re-education designed to aid the individual to so understand his emotions and feelings and to so redirect them into new behavior channels that he no longer wants to or is forced to misbehave as an unsuccessful attempt to rid himself of external authority. Parenthetically, it escapes the attention of some counselors that the state of individualistic autonomy that some students seek is, in its extreme form, self-destructive or at least not a full measure of self-fulfillment in the case of human beings.

There are, I repeat, two arguments for attempting such a fusion of discipline and counseling: Counseling is our present chief prospect for changing discipline from punishment to rehabilitation; and counseling as a form of growth-producing and morale building human relationship will aid the individual to achieve that degree of self-control and self-restraint so necessary in all members of an interdependent democratic society. And I borrow the words of a cultural anthropologist who describes the way

in which one individual can achieve his individuality through, and not in spite of, the imposed discipline of membership in a society:

. . . to belong to a society is to sacrifice some measure of individual liberty, no matter how slight the restraints which the society consciously imposes. The so-called free societies are not really free. They are merely those societies which encourage their members to express their individuality along a few minor and socially acceptable lines. At the same time they condition their members to abide by innumerable rules and regulations, doing this so subtly and completely that these members are largely unconscious that the rules exist. If a society has done its work of shaping the individual properly, he is no more conscious of most of the restrictions it has imposed than he is of the restraints which his habitual clothing imposes on his movements. [2]

Let me quote my summary of a recent conference on discipline and counseling:

To achieve full personal development, each pupil must learn to live mutually helpfully with others in group life.

This means that each individual must learn self control or at least develop in the direction of that ideal of our democracy.

It follows that the individual cannot grow toward self control in a social vacuum of rampant and selfish individualism.

And that aspect involves the school (and counselor) in helping (and insisting) that the individual "conform" to the requirements of group living involving the needs of other pupils. Such a concept bothers those who feel guilty about "imposing" any restric-

tions from the outside upon the inner growth processes of the individual. Nevertheless, it is clear that both types of discipline (self and group) must be fused in the personality of the individual if he is to avoid disintegration and self conflict.

The crux of the matter is the methods the school and the counselor use to achieve this self control adjusted to group conformity. And rigid regimentation involving sharp punishment for deviation from official pathways of behavior is an ineffective way. Conversely, the maintenance of a friendly school atmosphere and the offering of a rich variety of growth-producing experiences in learning self control are effective ways of teaching self discipline.

If we redefine "discipline" as a constructive life-style of living as a human being involving the maintaining of human relationships with others, we then see new ways in which counseling can play a significant role in discipline.

But, and this is a troublesome spot, many individuals deviate in their learning and some deviate destructively to self and to others. It is at this point that the legal authorities step in, both in the school and community, and force conformity as well as "punish" deviation.

Up to this point, counselors participate in discipline through their normal activities of helping the individual to achieve optimum growth and also by insisting upon accommodation to standards required by membership in society. In this sense, the counselor does not permit unbridled self-growth of any kind that is destructive of self or other selves.

In the conflict state of disciplinary situations, the counselor becomes a teamwork consultant to the "authorities," participating within school and community in rehabilitating the "offender." It follows that he must make

clear to the student that he, the counselor, is on the side of morality and "law and order." He is not neutral in such a situation. He also makes it clear that part of a student's behavior which is destructive of the "right" kind of self control is balanced in counseling between the needs and rights of the disciplined student and the needs and rights of other individuals within the group. [3]

I can sum up my point of view about the fusion of discipline and counseling by quoting a wise psychiatrist who played a major role in the conference referred to above. Dr. Carson of Potsdam, New York, capsuled the point in these words: "Discipline must be given in a matrix of love." All human beings, and especially children and adolescents, have great "affect hunger" and misbehaving children and adolescents have greater need. If their misbehavior erupts out of affect hunger and resentment from rejection in home or community, then the school and especially the counselors must substitute affection for that hunger. Punishment will not completely fill such a deep void, but the humanized relationship of counseling will be effective. Therefore, in

the area of behavior (as contrasted with "inert" knowledge of the classroom), human relationships in the school will often prove to be effective in helping pupils to achieve maturity, social, moral, intellectual, and other kinds. It is not unreasonable to restructure schools so that human beings are related to each other in a way characterized as humane.

In this way, self-control discipline is cultivated by the very personal relationships of the persons in the school, and this is one of the most important goals of counseling. Discipline then becomes restructured through the adoption of counseling methods and points of view as substitutes for discipline by inhumane punishment.

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24. ETHICS IN COUNSELING

An area of considerable significance for most professions is the ethical framework upon which the participants of the profession base their professional actions. Such ethical considerations oftentimes have legal as well as moral implications. As indicated in the introduction to the next article, "One

of the distinguishing marks of a profession is the concern of its members for their own ethical conduct." It would not be inaccurate to say that counselors have only recently begun to assert themselves as a professional group to any great extent, and development of a framework of ethical principles is one of the basic problems that they are beginning to face.

The article by Gluck *et al.* represents an attempt to develop an ethical code which counselors can use to guide their actions. The basis for development of this code has been to adapt selected items from ethical codes of the professions of medicine, law, psychology, and social work. The items selected were those that were judged to have special significance for counselors.

An additional comment might be made at this juncture with respect to a point of law that has been a source of concern to counselors. The members of the legal profession, the ministry, and medicine usually have legally defined, privileged communication relationships with their clients. Privileged communication means essentially that the professional member cannot be compelled to reveal information which a client has told him in confidence. Certainly a counselor has a highly intimate relationship with his client and may be in a position to find out much personal information about the client during the interview. However, he often does not have legally defined privileged communication. This of course has implications for the counselor-client relationship and is a problem toward which counselors are directing their attention.

One of the stumbling blocks resulting in the withholding of privileged communication is the fact that the terms "counselor" and "counseling" have not yet been defined so that professional status is automatically recognized. Although professional organization, background of training, and so on can be considered as distinguishing characteristics, these factors are inadequate as the basis for a legal definition. A major effort of counselors will necessarily have to be in the direction of having the profession firmly established and recognized on a legal basis.

The reader is invited to examine critically the items of the following code to determine their relevance and to analyze the effect that subscription to such a code of ethics would have on the counselor's behavior. Of particular importance is the question of whether this code of ethics can be readily adapted to the school situation or whether further adaptations must be made for the counselor who is operating within the school setting.

The second article, by Milton Schwebel, presents a slightly different approach to the problem of ethics in counseling. He deals with specifically defined situations which have important underlying ethical implications. Several of the problems that are discussed are illustrative of what may happen in the public school. These situations are considered in terms of alternative actions that the counselor may employ and they are also related to the parts of the ethical code of the American Psychological Association that have particular relevance for the problem.

A PROPOSED CODE OF ETHICS FOR COUNSELORS

One of the distinguishing marks of a profession is the concern of its members for their own ethical conduct. This concern has found expression in the codes of ethics of many of the older professions, in the Committee on Ethical Practices of NVGA, and in inquiries regarding the ethical behavior of prospective professional members. To date, however, NVGA has not formulated nor adopted a code of ethics to which the conscientious counselor may turn for guidance when in doubt.

In the hope of provoking some action in this direction, the authors of this article have examined the codes of ethics of four other professions which are similar to their own, in that each profession frequently involves a one-to-one relationship between practitioner and client. The four professions selected were law, medicine, psychology, and social work. From the proposed or adopted codes of these professions they have selected items which appear to them to be applicable to counselors and they have revised these items as seemed to them desirable.

They have combined their ideas into the following Proposed Code of Ethics for Counselors. This proposal has no official status, nor have the authors unanimously agreed upon the wording or the inclusion of every item. What they have done is to prepare something that will provoke discussion and it is hoped serve as the starting point for what will, in due course, become an officially adopted code of ethics for the professional and other practicing members of NVGA.

After each item in the following code appears in parentheses the name of the profession whose code inspired drafting the item. The authors take full responsibility and blame for the revisions they have made and for presenting such items in a new context which may in some cases not do full justice

to the original authors. At the end of the third section they have placed a few items of their own pertaining to the use of occupational information.

THE CODE

1. The enumeration of the particular responsibilities, duties, codes of behavior, etc., should not be construed as a denial of the existence of other equally imperative though not specifically mentioned ethical standards that the vocational guidance counselor should believe in and follow. (*Law*)

THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE COUNSELOR IN RELATION TO HIMSELF

2. It is essential to the understanding of others that the counselor constantly seek a better control of himself and a greater understanding of his attitudes and prejudices which may affect his relationship with others. (*Social Work*)

3. The counselor must be aware of the inadequacies of his own personality and must refrain from undertaking any activity in which his personal limitations are likely to result in inferior professional services or harm the client. (*Psychology*)

4. The counselor should not base his practice on an exclusive dogma. (*Medicine*)

5. The counselor, recognizing that he is dealing with human beings, must strive at all times to maintain the highest standards of excellence, valuing competence and integrity above personal gain. (*Psychology*)

6. The counselor should show the following characteristics: modesty, sobriety, patience, promptness to do his duty without anxiety, piety without superstition, diligence,

[From Samuel Gluck, *et al.*, "A Proposed Code of Ethics for Counselors," *Occupations*, 30 (1952): 484-490. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

and conscientiousness, in assisting those who seek his help. (*Medicine*)

7. The counselor in his personal life should be honest, decent, courteous, capable, and believe in a wholesome philosophy of life. (*Medicine*)

8. The counselor should not offer services outside his area of training and experience or beyond his level of competence. (*Psychology*)

9. The counselor in his professional practice should refuse to suggest, support, or condone any undertaking involving unwarranted assumptions, invalid application, or unjustified conclusions in the use of instruments or techniques. (*Psychology*)

THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE COUNSELOR IN RELATION TO HIS PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

10. The counselor is expected to uphold the dignity and honor of his profession. (*Medicine*)

11. For the advancement of his profession, the counselor should affiliate with counseling and guidance associations and contribute of his time and energy. (*Medicine*)

12. It shall be within the scope of a licensing body representing the profession of vocational guidance to revoke such license of any member of the profession when in the general interest of the profession, the public welfare, or the client. (*Psychology*)

13. The following behavior shall be just cause for revoking the counselor's license or privilege to practice his profession:

- (a) Indulging in fraudulent and questionable practices.
- (b) Engaging in practices beyond the privileges and rights accorded by the license or to the profession as a whole.
- (c) Becoming a party to an act not considered legal or professional in dealing with a client. (*Psychology*)

14. The counselor will refrain from employing his techniques for entertainment or other nonprofessional purposes not consonant with the best interests of the profession

and its development as a science. (*Psychology*)

15. A counselor known to have personal and moral characteristics and behavior patterns inimical to the establishment of a wholesome and proper professional relationship with his client should not be permitted to practice until such time as he has overcome these personal and moral shortcomings. (*Psychology*)

16. The counselor should not attempt to gain favor by making personal comparisons damaging to colleagues, nor should he in any way belittle the services of ethical professional workers. (*Psychology*)

17. When a counselor succeeds another counselor in dealing with a client, neither counselor should make comments or insinuations regarding the practice or capability of the other. (*Medicine*)

18. The counselor will not accept or offer a commission, rebate, or other form of remuneration for the referral of a client for professional services, except when the referral is the result of diagnostic services for which a fee is customarily charged. (*Psychology*)

19. When a counselor is requested by a colleague to work with his client during the colleague's temporary absence, or when because of an emergency, a counselor is asked to see a client of a colleague, the counselor should treat the client in the same manner and with the same consideration that he would use toward his own client. (*Medicine*)

20. The counselor should not accept and establish a professional relationship with a person who is currently receiving help from another counselor except as agreed upon by the latter counselor, unless the client terminates his relationship with his former counselor. (*Psychology*)

21. The counselor must recognize and understand his own limitations and make use of referral sources within his community in dealing with problems beyond his area of competence. (*Social Work*)

22. When in doubt regarding a difficult problem, the counselor should consult with

his colleagues or associates regarding the case, but only with the permission of his client. (*Medicine*)

23. When making a referral or obtaining advice from a professional person who is a specialist in another area, the counselor should send by mail or under seal background information, his own considerations and diagnosis, and the reason for the referral or request for advice. (*Medicine*)

24. The counselor in a case conference should give the other professional persons present such information and data regarding the client as they are, by virtue of their training and competence, capable of understanding and utilizing in the best interest of the client. (*Psychology*)

25. The counselor should exert what influence he can to prevent and to rectify practices likely to result in the offering of inferior professional services or in the lowering of standards for vocational guidance services. (*Psychology*)

26. The counselor has a professional obligation to intervene in situations where a professional confidence is obviously being violated with possible harm to the individual to whom reference is being made. (*Psychology*)

27. The counselor should participate in and contribute to the formulation of policy within the organization of his employment. (*Social Work*)

28. The counselor should strive to establish the highest degree of cooperation with his associates within his organization. (*Social Work*)

29. The counselor in private practice or a vocational guidance agency will refrain from using untrained and inadequate personnel, from offering services entirely by mail, and from relying on mechanical devices as the sole technique for vocational guidance. (*Psychology*)

30. The counselor should work toward improved methods of collaboration with other staff members for the purposes of improving the quality of service rendered and for continued self-growth. (*Social Work*)

31. Individuals and agencies practicing vocational guidance are obligated to define for themselves the nature and directions of their loyalties and responsibilities in any particular undertaking and to inform all involved of these commitments and to carry them out conscientiously. (*Psychology*)

32. The ethical principles actuating and governing a group or clinic are exactly the same as those applicable to the individual. The uniting into a business or professional organization does not relieve them from the obligations they assume when entering the profession. (*Medicine*)

THE COUNSELOR AND HIS RELATIONSHIP TO THE CLIENT

33. The counselor must respect the dignity of the individual human personality in all his relationships. (*Social Work*)

34. It is the counselor's obligation to respect the integrity and fundamental convictions of his client. (*Psychology*)

35. The counselor shall base his relationship with others on their qualities as individual human beings without distinction as to race, color, creed, or social and economic status. (*Social Work*)

36. The counselor shall not invade the personal affairs of another individual without his consent. (*Social Work*)

37. The counselor must not force or impose his services upon an individual. (*Psychology*)

38. The counselor must have faith in the capacity of the individual to set his own goals. (*Social Work*)

39. The counselor shall base his opinion of another person on a genuine attempt to understand him—to understand not merely his words, but the man himself and his whole situation and what it means to him. (*Social Work*)

40. A counselor is free to choose whom he will assist. He should, however, respond to any request for his assistance in an emergency or whenever public opinion expects the service. (*Medicine*)

41. Having undertaken to assist an individual, the counselor will not neglect the client nor withdraw his assistance without giving prior notice to the client, guardian, or person responsible for the client. (*Medicine*)

42. A counselor should not accept a client for services or continue to render services when he discovers that his obligation and responsibility prevents the performance of his full duty to former clients, his present clients, or to his new client. (*Law*)

43. A counselor's relationship involves multiple loyalties—to his client, to society, to his supervisor, and to his colleagues. When a problem of divided loyalties occurs, careful consideration should be given to the welfare of all persons concerned and to that of the profession. When a client is involved, his welfare should receive first consideration. (*Psychology*)

44. Individual counselors and vocational guidance agencies are obligated to define to their clients the nature and direction of their professional loyalties and responsibilities. (*Psychology*)

45. The counselor is primarily responsible to his client or the organization requesting his services, and ultimately to society, with the exception that, when his loyalties are found to conflict with legal statutes and the accepted mores of his community, he will conform to the prescribed legal and moral codes of his society. (*Psychology*)

46. When the counselor is confronted with the problem of loyalty to the client or to his organization, he should present the situation to the client and his employer. The client should then be invited to decide whether or not he wishes to maintain the relationship. (*Psychology*)

47. The counselor should not attempt to assist nor enter into a professional relationship with members of his own family, with intimate friends, or with persons so close that their relationship might be jeopardized by the dual relationship. (*Psychology*)

48. Should a counselor attempt to assist a member of his own family, an associate, a

student, an acquaintance, or a person with whom he has other relationships, the possible difficulties that might arise must be carefully explained and the decision left to the client. (*Psychology*)

49. It is not considered ethical to continue a professional relationship beyond the point where it is reasonably clear that the client is not benefiting from the relationship. (*Psychology*)

50. The counselor will not attempt to diagnose, advise, or prescribe for a client whose problem or problems fall outside the recognized boundaries of his professional practice. (*Psychology*)

51. The counselor will not indulge in casual relationships when sought out for vocational guidance assistance, and will only engage in his professional practice to the extent that a complete and thorough opportunity will be given the client to solve his problem. (*Psychology*)

52. In situations where referral is indicated and the client refuses to accept it, the counselor will weigh the pros and cons for continuing the relationship, giving due consideration to the possible harm that may result if the relationship is discontinued abruptly or prematurely. (*Psychology*)

53. When referring a client, it is the guidance counselor's responsibility to recommend only fully qualified persons or agencies. (*Psychology*)

54. The counselor and the agency should make clear to the client the limitations of the services offered. (*Law*)

55. The counselor will not promise resolution of the problem, nor boast of secret methods of treatment or remedies. (*Medicine*)

56. Fees and manner of payment should be discussed with the client prior to initiation of services and should be revised at a later date only with the concurrence of the client. (*Psychology*)

57. Fees should be established with careful regard for the welfare of all concerned, and must insure that the client is not unduly burdened by the cost at the same time that

the counselor or agency involved is assured of adequate recompense. (*Psychology*)

58. Adjustment of fees with reference to the client's ability to pay is acceptable practice. (*Psychology*)

59. The counselor will not accept a private fee or any other form of remuneration for services rendered in a capacity which entitled the individual to the services without charge or direct payment. (*Psychology*)

60. The counselor will not use his professional relationship primarily for profit, prestige, power, or other personal gratification not consonant with the best interests of the client. (*Psychology*)

61. It is the duty of the counselor to preserve his clients' confidences and this duty shall extend beyond the duration of his professional practice or his employment in a vocational guidance agency. (*Law*)

62. The counselor will not discuss case material or information obtained from a client with anyone outside or within his profession except as it pertains to the client's welfare and the solution of his problem, and then only with the client's consent. (*Psychology*)

63. The counselor will not reveal the name of a client or indicate that a particular person is receiving assistance, without the consent of the person involved. (*Psychology*)

64. The counselor is obligated to obtain his client's permission before communicating any information about the client to another person or agency, even though the action may be felt to be in the best interest of the client. (*Psychology*)

65. Confidential or professional communications should not be shown to a client without the expressed consent of the writer. (*Psychology*)

66. The profession of vocational guidance through its professional organizations shall establish in conjunction with legal authorities standard practices regarding privileged communications. Until such time as this is accomplished, it becomes the responsibility of the counselor to know the legal status of

his profession regarding privileged communications in the community in which he is practicing. (*Psychology*)

67. The counselor should exercise appropriate safeguards in the preparation and transmittal of reports when it is not assured that they will be used in the best interest of the client. (*Psychology*)

68. Information of a professional nature should be released only to persons who are qualified to interpret it. (*Psychology*)

69. When self appraisal is involved, proper supervision by qualified persons must be an essential of such a program, with provisions for individual assistance, referral services, and such other professional needs as may result from the undertaking of self evaluation by a school or other community organization. (*Psychology*)

70. The counselor will present to a client psychological information, such as test results or diagnostic appraisal, in a manner likely to be constructive to the client in the solving of his problem. (*Psychology*)

71. Before the completion of counseling on the choice of a vocational objective, the counselor himself will make appropriate inquiry regarding current and prospective opportunities for employment in the client's preferred occupation.

72. The counselor will verify his own casual impressions and will bring up to date his own previous knowledge of occupations which his client seriously considers entering, before introducing such impressions and knowledge into the counseling situation.

73. Before recommending a piece of occupational literature for client reading, the counselor will examine it carefully for evidence of accuracy and freedom from bias.

74. Before referring a client to the library or to other sources of published information about occupations, the counselor will warn his client to examine the copyright dates of all publications before reading them, and to beware of recruiting literature from employers, unions, professional associations, educational institutions, military services,

and other sources which may have a selfish interest in overemphasizing either the advantages or disadvantages of an occupation.

THE COUNSELOR IN RELATION TO THE PUBLIC

75. The counselor should hold as his prime objective the service he can render to humanity. (*Medicine*)

76. The counselor is expected to be a good citizen and to participate in activities for the well being of the individuals of the community wherein he dwells. He should bear a part in the sustaining of those institutions that advance the interests of humanity. (*Medicine*)

77. The counselor has a responsibility to the public to provide unbiased, accurate information which will lead to greater acceptance of the help the profession is prepared to offer. (*Social Work*)

78. The counselor, in his contact with the public, should strive for objectivity, and avoid creating distrust and confusion by commenting on divergent philosophies and personalities related to his or any other profession. (*Social Work*)

79. The counselor may exhibit certificates of skill or of success in his field of competence. (*Medicine*)

80. It is proper for the counselor to circulate ordinary simple business cards in a manner not offensive to his colleagues or considered in poor taste. (*Medicine*)

81. It is considered professional and ethical for a counselor to list himself in approved vocational guidance directories in a manner consistent with standards established by the national organization representing the profession. Such listing may include:

- (a) Name, home and business addresses, telephone numbers.
- (b) Areas of competence and specialties.
- (c) Date and place of birth.
- (d) Schools attended, degrees received, dates of graduation, licenses and certifications obtained.

(e) Professional memberships and honorary societies.

(f) Present position and employment.

(*Law*)

82. When making public announcement of his services, the vocational counselor is obligated to describe his services to the public in a dignified and accurate manner, adhering to established professional rather than commercial standards. (*Psychology*)

83. A vocational guidance agency may use approved means to inform the public of its address, and the special class, if any, of clients accommodated. (*Medicine*)

84. The counselor will not attempt to procure clients by indirection, through solicitation, use of agents, indirect advertisement, or by furnishing or inspiring newspaper or magazine comments concerning cases which he has been or is responsible for. (*Medicine*)

THE COUNSELOR IN RELATION TO RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

85. Prior to using case material in publications, the counselor will obtain the permission of the client. (*Psychology*)

86. The identity of research subjects must not be revealed without explicit permission. If data are published without permission regarding identification, the counselor is responsible for adequately disguising their source. (*Psychology*)

87. When the problem under consideration cannot be studied in any other way, it is justifiable to withhold information, give misinformation, or otherwise place under emotional stress the research subjects involved. When there is danger of serious after-effects, the subjects should be fully informed in advance and be permitted to make their own decision regarding participation or nonparticipation in the study. (*Psychology*)

88. Credit should be assigned to all those who have contributed to a publication, in proportion to their contribution, and the nature of the contribution should be made clear. (*Psychology*)

89. The counselor in his publications should exercise the utmost care to acknowledge through specific citations and references the sources of his ideas and materials. (*Psychology*)

90. Permission of the copyright holder or original author should first be obtained, before using any material or data already published. (*Psychology*)

91. Materials prepared by staff members of an organization as part of their organizational resources are the property of the organization. The counselor should use such material for publication only with the permission of the organization, and any personal gain derived thereby should be equitably apportioned among the co-authors and contributors. (*Psychology*)

92. The counselor, planning to use in his research and writing data belonging to the institution or agency employing him, should first insure that no interference will occur with the research or publication program of the institution. (*Psychology*)

93. The counselor, planning to conduct research in an organization with which he is not connected, should clear with the head of the appropriate department of that organization before he begins his research, in order to determine whether his plans will interfere with programs in progress in that department. (*Psychology*)

94. The counselor who plans to initiate professional activity likely to encroach upon a recognized field of endeavor of a colleague in the same institution, agency, etc., should consult with his colleague prior to proceeding with his research. (*Psychology*)

95. The counselor writing on a scientific and professional subject should deal objectively and frankly with controversial issues, even when his interpretation of data leads him to take an unpopular position. He is expected to accept the fact that divergent opinions may exist on a particular subject. (*Psychology*)

96. The counselor is responsible, within the limits of his knowledge, competence, and facilities, for planning his research in such a

way as to minimize the possibility that his findings will be misleading. (*Psychology*)

97. The counselor should never report data falsely; nor discard, without explanation, data which may modify the interpretation of results and conclusions he publishes. (*Psychology*)

98. The counselor should not withhold from publication findings which he knows to be of value for the development of the profession as a science or for the welfare of the general public, irrespective of his personal agreement or disagreement with the findings. (*Psychology*)

99. It is not considered proper professional behavior for a counselor to restrict or inhibit research by virtue of ownership or control of patent or copyright. (*Medicine*)

100. When writing on a scientific and professional subject, the counselor, in the interest of advancement and dissemination of knowledge, should be thoroughly familiar with previous works of others on his subject. (*Psychology*)

101. It is unethical for a counselor to consent to the popular publication of his research findings without reasonable assurance that a sound, unbiased, and properly qualified interpretation of his results will be made. (*Psychology*)

102. The counselor should endorse books only if they deal with fields in which he has established special competence and when he believes them to be based on sound scientific principles and procedures. (*Psychology*)

103. It is unethical for a professional person to permit his name to be used in connection with a professional activity or program with which he does not have continuous first-hand and effective responsibility, unless the nature of his connection is clearly indicated. (*Psychology*)

104. Professional tools and equipment should be offered for publication only to publishers and manufacturers who are familiar with the materials and the problems they represent and who will present the information in a professional manner, such as

adequate manuals of instruction, up-to-date research data, etc., and who will limit the sale of these tools and equipment to qualified professional users. Publishers and manufac-

turers who are willing to set up standards and secure professional help in venturing into the field shall not be excluded because of statements made above. (*Psychology*)

SOME ETHICAL PROBLEMS IN COUNSELING

It is a lunch hour. The school counselor goes to the cafeteria and joins five of his teacher-colleagues.

"We were talking about John Doe," one of them says. "You know, one of our prize headaches."

"Yes, and we're trying to figure out what we can do to help him," says another.

A third chimes in, "And what we need is some background. Tell us, is it true that his father comes home drunk and beats the boy?"

"And what does Johnny tell you about all this?" asks the fourth.

The counselor is puzzled. He knows many of the facts. He recognizes that these four teachers are sincere; that they want to help the boy. Should he tell them everything? Something? Should he tell them here in the cafeteria? And what of the fifth teacher sitting here with them, the one nicknamed "Miss Gossip" by the students? Finally, what effect, he wonders, will his decision have on the attitudes of these teachers to the guidance program.

Counselors in schools, hospitals, agencies, or in private practice are frequently confronted with situations like this. The answers are not easy to find, especially since the situation may be further complicated by the counselor's personal need to satisfy, to please, to profit, or to reject.

Fortunately, counselors do not have to face these situations unaided. Their col-

leagues in their own and in related professions have provided them with various codes of practice. Some of these are *professional* codes, such as the minimum standards for vocational guidance services established by the National Vocational Guidance Association and used by NVGA and the American Personnel and Guidance Association in approving agencies that meet these standards. Other codes, like the recommendations for the preparation and publication of psychological tests and diagnostic techniques are *technical*. Then there are the codes that deal with *ethical* behavior such as those proposed by counselors or adapted to counseling and that developed by the American Psychological Association. The ethical code of the APA was established by means of the most ambitious and systematic program of its kind. It provides many guides to professional behavior that are directly applicable to the work of the counselor. In this paper ethical problems that are frequently reported by counselors will be raised and trial solutions will be sought from among the principles of ethical behavior of the APA code. Each proposed solution will be one way of coping with the professional problem. It will not be the only nor necessarily the best way.

ETHICAL PROBLEM 1

The problem is that already presented above: the counselor joins several teachers

[From Milton Schwebel, "Some Ethical Problems in Counseling," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 33 (1955): 254-259. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

in the cafeteria. What answers is he to give them?

The following principles of the APA code are relevant to this situation. This and all subsequent excerpts are from the summary of major tenets of the APA code, published separately [1]. All page references are to the summary publication.

A cardinal obligation of the psychologist is to respect the integrity and protect the welfare of the client with whom he is working. (p. 4) The psychologist should guard professional confidences as a trust. . . . Information obtained in clinical or consulting relationships should be discussed only in professional settings and with professional persons clearly concerned with the case. (p. 5) The psychologist should give clinical information about a client only to professional persons whom the client might reasonably be expected to consider a party to the psychologist's efforts to help him and the client's concurrence should be obtained before there is any communication exceeding these customary limits. He should also encourage his associates to maintain a professional attitude toward clinical information. (p. 6)

Using these ethical principles as a guide the high school counselor's point of view is that he would be glad to tell them what he can and that he would welcome their help in working with John Doe. He suggests that he meet with John's teachers at the first mutually convenient time. He explains that it has been found to be better to discuss these matters privately, especially since students will bring personal problems to their counselors and advisers only if they feel their remarks will be held in trust.

The meeting will be held in a private conference room. If scheduling necessitates that it be held during lunch hour, then a separate room in the cafeteria and, if necessary, just

a separate table can be used. No matter where, the counselor's attitude will set the professional tone in discussing the data of a case.

He will use his discretion in dealing with the data. If he withholds information, it will not be to play the role of God. Perhaps he will withhold it because it was given to him in confidence, not because he feels superior to the teachers. When he provides information he will not do so to impress or please. He will withhold the content of interviews but not the needs of the boy as revealed by the interviews. For example, unless he seeks and obtains permission from John, he will not relate the fact that John sometimes hates his older brother and once tore up his homework paper; he will relate the fact that John feels inferior to other boys and needs support and praise.

If "Miss Gossip" should be at the conference as one of John's teachers, the counselor will be even more circumspect in the use of the data and more certain to include discussion by the group on the need for respecting the integrity and privacy of the client and of maintaining a professional attitude in relationship to such information.

By these means the counselor will hope to aid John, the teachers, and the student personnel program, and to harm or offend none of them.

ETHICAL PROBLEM 2

Marie, a sophomore, comes to the counselor on the day prior to the Christmas recess. As tears roll down her face she asks the counselor what she has to do to drop out of school. Her English teacher warned her, she says, that unless she earned a grade of 75 in her weekly quiz she could not possibly get a passing grade for the term. She hands her exam paper to the counselor. "She gave me 70. It's not fair. But if I'm not going to pass there's no point in my coming back after the vacation. Look at that paper. Do you think this is fair?"

The counselor wonders what he should do. It would be unfortunate, he knows, if she were to terminate her schooling just because of five points on one test. Should he look over the paper and determine if the grade is fair? Go directly to the teacher and question her? Appeal to the teacher for a more charitable attitude? Appeal first to the principal to urge the teacher to give the girl some further incentive for remaining in school?

The APA code says:

Psychologists may serve most effectively when their relationships with other professional workers are characterized by understanding, respect, and mutual support. . . . Psychologists should keep professional relationships on a mature level and free from petty actions demeaning to themselves and the profession. A psychologist should not attempt to gain favor by making personal comparisons damaging to colleagues, nor should he belittle the services of ethical professional workers. . . . He should cooperate with the other professional persons and groups and accept administrative policies and decisions. (p. 17)

In line with these principles the counselor will not act as a judge. He will not re-evaluate the exam paper. He will not condemn the teacher (nor, as an effective counselor, will he uphold her as against Marie). He will not supersede the teacher by going to the principal. And he will confer with the teacher, if at all, only as equals attempting to aid Marie without any intent to question or challenge the teacher.

Instead he will apply his counseling competence to Marie's problems.

If this is the unusual case in which the teacher is mentally ill, psychopathic, or otherwise grossly inadequate then the counselor's responsibility goes even beyond the protection of Marie. The need for good in-

terprofessional relationship "does not prohibit evaluation of the work of other professional persons when such appraisal will clearly serve the welfare of the client with whom the psychologist is working, nor does it discourage exposure of incompetence or of unethical conduct." (p. 17)

ETHICAL PROBLEM 3

Allen, an eleventh grade student, has just left the counselor's office. During this second interview he revealed the great pressure he felt to succeed. He must get "good" grades and go to a "good" college and enter a "good" profession. The counselor believes that Allen will soon be able to see himself more realistically and perhaps will seek the counselor's aid in reorienting his parents. But today he left the counselor's office with the expressed intention of using crib notes in his chemistry exam. The counselor wonders about his responsibility. Does he not owe something to society (in this case, the school), to the teacher, to the other students? Will any of these really suffer by his silence? Should he warn the teacher? the principal? the boy's parents?

The psychologist's ultimate allegiance is to society. . . . In nearly all circumstances, the welfare of the public, of the profession, and of the individual psychologist can best be served by placing highest value on the immediate responsibility of the psychologist. . . . In service, the responsibility of most weight is the welfare of the client with whom the psychologist is working. (p. 2) When information received in confidence reveals clear and imminent danger that the client may do serious harm to himself or to others, intervention by the psychologist may be required. . . . Otherwise, information obtained in professional work must be kept in confidence, recognizing that the clinical or consulting relationship can

develop most fully only in an atmosphere of trust, and that the psychologist can serve society most effectively not by revealing confidences of antisocial events or intentions but by helping the individual realize himself as a socially competent and responsible person. (p. 5)

The counselor's role is clear. He will do nothing about Allen's plan to cheat on the exam. Neither the school, the teacher, nor the other students are likely to be harmed by the cheating if it should come to pass. At worst, if the teacher should be one who marks "on a curve," some students will suffer the loss of one rank on one test. This seems to be a necessary risk. On the other hand, if the counselor were to inform on the boy the chief effect would be injury to the reputation of the counselor. And it is through this counseling relationship that Allen's motives for cheating may be replaced by healthier motives.

Fortunately there are but rare occasions when the counselor recognizes "clear and imminent danger that the client may do serious harm to himself or to others." When these occur the counselor will want to consult the school or agency psychiatrist or other physician, or perhaps the legal authorities, clearing of course with his own administrative superiors.

ETHICAL PROBLEM 4

The counselor has been asked by the principal to study a student, son of an influential member of the community, whose achievement has been poor. The counselor is unable to find the causes. The principal is pressing him "for a solution," implying that the imminent decision to expand the guidance program and promote the counselor to director would be influenced by his success with the case.

The counselor knows that he could give a passable interpretation, one that would sound

impressive, but he knows too that the data would not justify this.

The APA code says that, "The use of the clinical or consulting relationship primarily for profit, for power or prestige, or for other personal gratifications not consonant with concern for the welfare of the client, is unethical." (p. 5)

The counselor resists the temptations of protecting his position and prestige. He recommends referral.

ETHICAL PROBLEM 5

Conflict has broken out in the community counseling agency between the administration on the one hand and the counseling and psychological staff on the other. The professional staff is accused of insubordination; the administrators, of practices that obstruct service to clients and impair morale of the staff. Salary does not enter into the dispute, only professional and administrative relationships. The administrator considers immediate mass discharge of the staff and the hiring of new personnel as a means of eliminating the unhealthy strife.

The welfare of the profession and that of the individual psychologist are clearly subordinate to the welfare of the public. (p. 2) . . . A cardinal obligation of the psychologist is to respect the integrity and protect the welfare of the client with whom he is working. Vigilant regard for this principle should characterize all the work of the psychologist and pervade all his professional relationships. . . . Care must be taken to ensure an appropriate time and place for clinical work to protect both client and clinician from actual or imputed harm, and the profession from censure. This implies an orderly arrangement for clinical work, generally within established hours and in an office, school, or hospital setting. (p. 4)

The administrator recognizes that while discharge of his employees might satisfy his own immediate needs it would be contrary to the welfare of the public. It would mean termination of service to clients, at least for a brief period; certainly the termination of counseling relationships. In addition, of course, it would mean the unemployment of a professional staff, the responsibility for which would have to rest with the administrator no matter what difficulties the employees may have caused. He decides that it is his professional responsibility to try to work toward the amelioration of the problem.

Perhaps an administrator in this field, "where sound interpersonal relationships are essential to effective endeavor, should be aware of the inadequacies in his own personality which may bias his appraisals of others or distort his relationships with them." (p. 3) In this event he might seek the help of a consultant on interpersonal relationships in administrative practice. This would enable him to recognize the causes of his current difficulties and develop means of correcting them. He might even want help of a more personal nature to eliminate the inadequacies that lead to distortions in his relationships with others.

ETHICAL PROBLEM 6

The interview has come to an end. The counselor feels a vague uneasiness. He sensed it throughout the interview and was aware that he was not functioning well. He examines the data of the case and discovers that the client gave evidence very early of possible homosexual tendencies (or perhaps revealed identification with a minority group with which the counselor has had no personal contact and toward which he is influenced only by old and deeply rooted prejudices).

A psychologist engaged in clinical or consulting work, where sound interpersonal relationships are essential to

effective endeavor, should be aware of the inadequacies in his own personality which may bias his appraisals of others or distort his relationships with them, and should refrain from undertaking any activity where his personal limitations are likely to result in inferior professional services. (p. 3)

The counselor must now determine whether he can offer satisfactory service. Discussion with his superior or another counselor can be helpful in this connection. Problems like this are not unusual and they underlie the need for professional supervision as part of the counselor's training and experience.

The difficulty is compounded when the counselor cannot identify the cause of his uneasiness. The client is in a hopeless position when the counselor defends himself against anxiety by becoming hostile. These dangers and difficulties can be averted in large part when the counselor has become aware of his motives and biases through studied appraisal of himself, personal counseling, or psychoanalysis and when he works for some time under the supervision of a competent person.

ETHICAL PROBLEM 7

The data revealed by interviews and psychological tests suggest that the client's problem is not simply that of vocational choice as he asserts. His serious difficulties in interpersonal relationships affect all aspects of his life including the vocational. He resents orders from his boss, just as he resents his wife's requests that he help her with the children. In the past he snarled when his father told him to run an errand. What does the counselor do? Does he insist that the client obtain psychotherapy? Does he urge? Does he say anything? Does he withhold the facts from the client, perhaps even by withholding clarification of feelings in this area?

The APA code throws light on these questions.

The psychologist should present his clinical findings in a manner most likely to serve the best interests of his client. In some circumstances, where the welfare of the client will clearly be served, a psychologist may withhold information from him or from others. However, a decision to withhold information is not to be made lightly, and the psychologist should be confident that such a decision would be concurred in by his professional colleagues. (p. 6) Clinical services must not be imposed upon an individual, nor should a person be unduly urged to avail himself of such services; a person should be free to enter, not to enter, or to withdraw from a clinical relationship in the light of as complete a survey of the situation as the psychologist can make and the person can accept. (p. 4)

The counselor helps the client recognize the realities of his adjustment. He then allows the client to be influenced by these realities and to make his decision accordingly. Perhaps the client will say, "I see now that it's not just my job. I have the same trouble at home and with friends." Perhaps the client will want help to eliminate the causes of his general problems of interpersonal relations; perhaps he will not. In the latter case the counselor will not urge nor insist. He knows that the client cannot profit unless he wants help; he knows too that some medical patients die and that some clients will prefer their maladjustments to the alternative of therapy.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing cases are typical of everyday problems counselors must think through

in their work with clients. Helpful in such thinking are the various codes worked out by counselors and psychologists. It is the part of wisdom to refer to these codes from time to time to guide one's thinking.

This paper has discussed only a few ethical problems, but even a review of these cases reveals the need for a basic counselor trait for effective solution: the ability on the part of the counselor to evaluate his own motives. Can he control his need to please the faculty or staff so that it does not interfere with wise professional behavior? Can he control his desire for power and prestige, and his understandable wish for higher earnings, so that they will not impede counseling? Can he control his fear of being discovered protecting confidences about antisocial behavior (e.g., cheating)? Can he be honest with himself to recognize his biases? Can he be self-sufficient so that a client's decision contrary to one he would makes does not threaten him?

These are great demands to make on any human. Knowledge of self is not come by easily, for it is difficult to be objective. Some understanding of self comes with practice in counseling in university centers; some from helpful analysis of one's reactions to one's clients by an intelligent supervisor. Sometimes one's skilled colleagues can help through their evaluation of the quality of one's relationship with his clients. And some counselors are seeking counseling, therapy, or analysis for themselves as a more direct means of discovering their motives and understanding themselves.

REFERENCE

1. *Ethical standards of psychologists, a summary of ethical principles.* American Psychological Association, Washington, D. C., 1953.

25. GUIDANCE FOR THE GIFTED

To what extent is counseling necessarily different for the gifted child than for the "average" student? Is there a need for differentiated guidance for the gifted, as implied by the title of Barbe's article? What are the overall social implications in terms of the most efficient use that we can make of human resources in our democracy? What are the implications in terms of development of leadership in all areas—scientific, humanistic, and social science? What does the evidence show with respect to gifted children who have received special guidance and curricular adaptation? What is the result of not giving special attention to gifted children?

After pondering these questions and weighing the evidence, we may discover that the basic question is whether we can afford the "luxury" of *not* giving our gifted differentiated guidance and counseling. The resolution of this question lies in the nature of the individual whom we label as "gifted" and in the needs of society for the unique talents that such an individual possesses.

At the highest level of abstraction the goals for the gifted and the "less-gifted" youngster are substantially the same. A basic purpose of education, and guidance services as a part of education, is to assist the individual to develop himself in consistence with his potential and in the direction of his own interests. It must be obvious, however, that the manner in which individuals shall be assisted depends in part on the individuals themselves—their characteristics, behaviors, problems. The gifted youngster is characterized primarily by his superior intellectual ability, and to deny him the right and opportunity to develop that intellectual ability is completely unjustifiable. It is the authors' observation over a period of years that much harm has been done to gifted children because of the anxiety of teachers and administrators about what to do with such children, or because of a preconceived value judgment by teachers that all gifted children must be pushed and pulled in the direction of social development and that their intellectual ability can thrive without challenge and stimulation. Another apparently common notion is that the gifted children can take care of themselves. Teachers who subscribe to this viewpoint often direct their energies to the slower learner—at the expense of the gifted. Inadequacies of understanding and guidance for the gifted seem only too widespread. It is to be hoped that the reader will intelligently evaluate his own position concerning the gifted in our society on the basis of the evidence, the characteristics of the children themselves, and the overwhelming social need.

What are the services that are generally initiated to meet the needs of the gifted child? These provisions usually take two directions. The first of these is curricular adaptation through acceleration and early entrance, enrichment, and homogeneous grouping. Barbe discusses these three methods briefly.

The second direction, coordinated with curricular adaptation, is personal and educational counseling. Ruth Strang discusses the counselor's responsibility to the gifted, the retarded, and the under-achievers—the last being students who have not achieved in consistence with their ability. Unfortunately, evidence tends to indicate that a large number of those whom we call gifted are essentially under-achievers, and much of the responsibility for identifying and assisting them must be borne by teachers and administrators.

In order to continue our line of reasoning that the gifted need some special systematic consideration because of their differences from the norm, we must, however, specify just what these differences are. The first, that of intellectual ability, has already been mentioned. The reader should ponder the implications of this characteristic for counseling. What are the implications in terms of instruments of appraisal, counseling techniques, educational and vocational planning, and the possibilities of different types of relationships with parents, teachers, and peers?

Another differentiating characteristic that has implications for counseling is the type of problems that the gifted child has. Strang lists several problem areas in which gifted children and adolescents need guidance:

1. . . . working up to capacity. . . .
2. . . . avoiding excessive emphasis on intellectual pursuits. . . .
3. . . . making social adjustments. . . .
4. . . . choosing a vocation. . . .
5. . . . adjustment between parent's ambition and child's interest. . . .
6. . . . assisting low socio-economic and sub-cultural to realize their potential. . . .¹

Martyns lists the following categories of problem areas for the gifted:

1. . . . resentment by classmates. . . .
2. . . . teacher lack of sensitivity. . . .
3. . . . parental pressure. . . .
4. . . . overcultivation of intellect. . . .
5. . . . unreasonable expectation of social maturity. . . .
6. . . . overstructuring of leisure time. . . .
7. . . . resentment and minimization by siblings and parents. . . .
8. . . . parental indifference and lack of stimulation in home. . . .
9. . . . intellectual differences between gifted and family. . . .
10. . . . exploitation of child by home-school-community. . . .
11. . . . denial in many cases of the inner drive to achieve. . . .

¹ Ruth Strang, "Guidance of the Gifted," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 31 (October, 1952), pp. 26-30.

12. . . . feeling of aloneness. . . .
13. . . . feeling of anxiety about philosophical considerations.²

Many of the factors considered in this introduction are discussed further in the following selections.

DIFFERENTIATED GUIDANCE FOR THE GIFTED

It is difficult to understand why the early training and education of those who have the potentialities necessary for leadership is neglected. In a democracy which is dependent for its very survival upon the development of each individual to the limit of his capacity, the education of those of superior intelligence is of great importance. Unfortunately, less attention has been given toward offering a better education for the gifted than any other group of children. In fact, the little attention that has been given to the gifted has seldom been carried far enough to actually offer any benefits to him. Instead, it has been directed toward identifying the gifted. While identification is an essential first step, the time has come to make use of research data on the nature and the needs of the gifted to provide them with the type of education which they desperately need.

WHY HAS THE GIFTED BEEN NEGLECTED?

The question can certainly be asked, "Why has the gifted been neglected?" Probably many answers could be given, but they fall generally into three groups: (1) Our distrust of anything or anyone we do not understand, (2) The strange American desire to be as much like the "average" as possible,

and (3) the belief that merely because an individual is gifted means that he can take care of himself.

The gifted child has for many years been misunderstood. We are fascinated by what we do not understand, but we shy away from it. While it is sometimes realized that the gifted child is being neglected, the tendency is to let someone else do something for him. Because we are not certain what to expect from the gifted child, it is safer to be a spectator than an active participant in any undertaking in which he is concerned.

Mentally this child may be years ahead of his actual age, but this is not true of his social and emotional adjustment. He must go through the very same stages of physical, social and emotional development as other children. The length of time spent in these phases of development may or may not be as long as that of other children. It is necessary to understand that the gifted child is not different from other children in every respect. Certainly in mental capacity he is ahead of his age group, but this in no way makes him an odd type of misfit. He is as much like other children as they will allow him to be. If he is rejected because other children do not understand him, he may very well become the type of bespectacled introvert which fits the stereotype. If the parents of other children are envious of the

[From W. B. Barbe, "Differentiated Guidance for the Gifted," *Education*, 74 (1954): 306-311. Reprinted by permission of *Education*.]

² Elyse Martyns, *Curriculum Adjustments for Gifted Children*, U. S. Office of Education, Washington D.C., 1946.

mental capabilities of a particular child, their attitude toward this child will to a great extent affect the reactions their children will have toward this child.

It is the social acceptance or rejection which will sometimes make the gifted child fit the pattern he is expected to follow.

It is indeed strange what a high premium is placed upon physical prowess, and what a low value is placed on mental precociousness. Often before a child enters school his precociousness is recognized and exploited by his parents. How frequently we have all sat through lengthy recitals of a child's creative endeavor while the beaming parent watches on. But once this child begins school, those signs of giftedness which were "cute" before, become objectionable signs of conceit and the child is labeled a "show-off." Perhaps this is due to the fact that each child is truly an individual before he enters school, but once he is embarked upon the often long and cumbersome road labeled "education" he loses his identity as an individual. In spite of the sincere efforts of many elementary teachers, more often than not the gifted becomes merely one of forty, little more than occupant of a seat. In such a situation, any variation from the average is a problem. If only there were no such things as individual differences, mass education would be most acceptable. Every variation from the average presents more problems, however, and the gifted child is certainly a variation which does not make the job easier for the classroom teacher. For many teachers, these children are a challenge, but for those who are "gracefully waiting for the check," the gifted child is an added burden. Because the child is bright, he is soon able to discern that his precociousness which was so acceptable before he entered school is no longer the most acceptable method of adjustment. He finds that it is better to fit the pattern, than in any way try to make the pattern fit one's needs and interests.

The third, and perhaps most important reason why the gifted has been neglected in

the schools is the belief that because the child is gifted he is therefore able to take care of himself. The belief that guidance is needed for those of lower intelligence, but anyone who has any sense can work out his own problems is certainly a major reason for the neglect of gifted children.

How many gifted children have to do more of the same type work, merely because they finished the work assigned. In reality, they were the very ones who did not need the extra drill, for they had already mastered the concepts. Or perhaps an even more frequent misuse of the gifted child's ability has been to have him serve as teacher's helper. If he gets the work finished early, he then can help another child, or maybe clean the blackboards, or any one of the hundreds of other little jobs which must be done around the classroom in a single day. While to many adults, such chores would seem more like punishment, helping the teacher is one of the greatest things a child can be allowed to do. If the gifted child is constantly the one to do these things, he will soon find that a wall of isolation is arising between him and the rest of the class. Also, in addition to the fact that the child who has difficulty learning does not always want to be shown up by having another member of the class helping him, it is not fair to spend the gifted child's time in such an unproductive way.

The very fact that a child is mentally superior means that he is more sensitive than average children to environmental influences acting upon him. He may therefore be more susceptible to worries about the financial condition of his parents, or the health of his mother, or any number of other things the average child would never be aware of.

Recently one gifted child of four, after overhearing his parents discussing the financing of their new home, volunteered to cut down on the amount of chewing gum he bought. To him, this was a very pressing problem, and it was one which the average child would have never had to face because

he is insensitive to such concepts which are far beyond his age level.

HOW DOES THE GIFTED DIFFER?

Frequently parents and teachers ask, "How does the gifted child differ from other children?" and "What makes these children different from others?" Unfortunately, as with all other types of individual differences, there can be no definite set of rules which one can follow. Some of the differences might be listed as follows:

1. The gifted child frequently learns to walk earlier than the average child.
2. His speech development begins earlier and develops more rapidly.
3. He is probably more active than average children, and more curious about new situations.
4. Chances are about 50-50 that if he is gifted he will learn to read before entering school.
5. He will probably like school, more because of his desire for knowledge than for the challenge presented to him.
6. He is more likely to participate in a larger number of extracurricular activities.
7. When he is allowed to elect subjects, he will prefer the harder ones.
8. Physically, he will at least be as well developed as other children.

The gifted child is not so different from other children that he is unable to adjust. Primarily the difference is not so much one of type, as it is one of degree. The gifted child will have the same interests for the most part as children his own age, but he will have more of them and he will go deeper into them. His adjustment problems will not be so different from those of other children his own age, for even though he is mentally ahead of his age, this in no way means that he is this advanced socially and emotionally. If stereotypes must exist, the correct one for the gifted child would be an alert, healthy, attractive child eager to learn; unaware that the very possession of this "gift"

means more problems to overcome in being accepted as part of society.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY GIFTED CHILDREN IN SCHOOL

The two major types of problems encountered in school by gifted children are (1) the snail's pace at which the curriculum is geared and (2) the rejection so often felt by a child who is mentally superior to other pupils his own age.

Of utmost importance to all children, and to gifted children in particular, is acceptance by one's own peer group. The price of this acceptance is sometimes very great. It is sometimes achieved by withholding answers and explanations which would indicate superior ability.

The level of vocabulary of gifted children is probably one of the easiest signs by which they can be identified. However, the use of words too difficult for the rest of the class to understand only alienates the other children. Studies of gifted children frequently reveal that rather than be labeled a "brain," or in any way to be distinguished from the group, the gifted child will refrain from using words which might not be understood by even the dullest child. He stifles the development of his vocabulary for the social acceptance which is so important.

In the early primary grades, there are many indications of how diversified is the level of language development. In one second grade the teacher was introducing a story in which the word "danced" appeared. After explaining what the word meant, she asked each member of the class to use the word in a sentence. The expected sentences were said. "I danced," "Mary danced," "I danced with John." When it came turn for one very bright child, she said, "Salome danced around the head of John the Baptist." This individual, who is now an adult, says that she doubts if she ever fully recovered from the after-effects of this display of superior ability.

When educational experiences are not challenging, the gifted child frequently follows one of three patterns:

1. He withdraws from the group.
2. He becomes a clown to gain attention.
3. He pretends not to know answers.

Withdrawal is a common enough method of adjustment. The child retains his self respect, but pays dearly for it by not having any friends. Another choice is to gain attention by using his intelligence to make other children laugh. Intelligence used in this way, for the entertainment of the group, is socially acceptable. The fact that the gifted child is making himself foolish, at the expense of the development of his abilities, is not considered. The third method, and probably the most tragic, is when the gifted child pretends ignorance. Rather than answer, or be the best pupil, he does less well than he is capable of doing. In this way he is not rejected by the group. It is the beginning of a method of adjustment which will probably last throughout life. The result of this type of adjustment is constant frustration, for not only is society losing the benefits which this individual might have contributed, but the person can never be happy himself.

WHAT IS BEING DONE FOR THE GIFTED?

In a few areas of the country, attempts are being made to provide for the gifted in special ways. Common to all types of educational provisions for the gifted is "enrichment." It is generally recognized that the traditional curriculum is not satisfactory for the gifted child. The method by which this enrichment is provided varies.

In Cleveland Ohio, gifted children are put in special classes. For a large part of each day they receive instruction with their intellectual peers. The program has been in operation for over thirty years and a recent follow-up study of its graduates indicates that the achievements and adjustments of adults who attended such classes are very superior.

A program in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, places gifted children in special classes for instruction in the content subjects only. While in the program in Cleveland the children are given numerous opportunities to participate in activities with children from regular classes, the Pittsburgh plan keeps the child in the regular homeroom, but segregates him for certain types of instruction.

At the high school level, gifted children frequently segregate themselves because of the elective subjects. The more difficult subjects usually have more than their proportional share of the gifted students. Nevertheless, attention is needed toward providing for the gifted student in high school, particularly with respect to occupational guidance. A number of reports have been made on various successful types of "workshops" and rapid advancement classes at the high school level.

Enrichment within the regular classroom is the only method of providing for the gifted child feasible in most situations. Because of the confusion in defining the term "enrichment," and the lack of guidance for teachers who are attempting to provide enrichment, this high-sounding educational term exists mostly in theory only.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

With such outstanding studies of gifted children as Terman and Oden's *The Gifted Child Grows Up* being reported upon, and the American Association for Gifted Children's *The Gifted Child*, edited by Paul Witty appearing, there is need for immediate action to aid the gifted. Most important among these needs are:

1. Recognition of the fact that the gifted child needs guidance is most essential. The attitude that he is capable of taking care of himself has done him more harm than any other single factor. Certainly, he can probably do the work at his grade level, and probably doesn't demand the assistance of the teacher in many ways, but nevertheless, he is in need of just as much guidance as the

mentally retarded child who must go over and over material before he can grasp it.

2. It is important that the attitude toward intellectual superiority be changed. While physical exhibitions are certainly a major part of the opportunities offered to those children who can excel along this line, so also should there be an opportunity for the child of superior intellectual ability to receive the recognition he so richly deserves. The ability to do well in school should be recognized, but the gifted child should not be placed in competition with his classmates so that they reject him socially because they are unable to compete with him intellectually.

3. There is a great need for extending the identification of gifted to all areas of the country so that those who have the capabilities of superior creative endeavor will not be lost. Early identification of all who are intellectually superior is a must in a democratic society which is dependent upon wise, intelligent leadership for its existence.

4. School administrators must be willing to cooperate with teachers who want to try out new methods with gifted children. That there is no one best way to provide for all gifted children can easily be demonstrated. The best method for any particular locality must be developed within that locality, and it will probably be found only by means of continuing experimentation.

5. Colleges offering teacher training need to offer more and better courses in methods of educating gifted children. By reviewing those provisions for gifted children in other localities, it is possible to formulate plans for one's own school. Without the emphasis being placed upon such provisions by teacher-training institutions, however, there is little likelihood that those teachers who are courageous enough to attempt something new will have the understanding of the problem which is so essential.

6. Surely those who are intellectually superior are the ones who should attend college. While many gifted children do attend

college, by no means all of them do. One of the reasons for nonattendance, and it is not a reason always stated by the individuals themselves, is the lack of economic resources necessary to attend a good school which offers the type of training for which the gifted is best suited. Whenever an adult who has been identified in childhood as gifted fails to attend college, it means that society has failed that individual. If colleges do not exist for those who have the ability to benefit by what they receive there, then there is little justification for colleges existing. While certainly the amount of need should be a major consideration in determining who should receive a scholarship, the amount of benefit which the individual would receive from going to college should also be considered. Listing of the number of scholarships offered by a college is very misleading. Many gifted children are in need of full assistance, which is far more than the trifling tuition scholarships so frequently offered. The need is great for funds to aid every capable student through college, to whatever extent he needs that aid.

SUMMARY

It can hardly be denied that the gifted child is being neglected, but the reasons for it are not so mysterious as one might suppose. Certainly the lack of understanding of intellectual superiority has been a major handicap in any attempt to better provide for the gifted.

It is true that these children do differ from the average in many ways, but children also differ in physical characteristics without its meaning that the child must cover up or hide his ability. Of utmost importance to the gifted is that they receive understanding from their parents and teachers. Until this understanding is given to all gifted children, the United States will truly be wasting its greatest natural resource, its gifted youth.

THE COUNSELOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE GUIDANCE OF THE GIFTED, THE UNDER- ACHIEVER, AND THE RETARDED

When a young rural teacher was asked to list the gifted children in her classes she said, "All my children are gifted." This would be an ideal attitude for deans and counselors to take. If they look for the special gifts and potentialities of every individual, they will focus their attention on opportunities rather than on "problems." The gifted, the under-achiever, and the mentally retarded all offer a challenge to the counselor.

WHOM ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

In recent years the definition of "the gifted" has been broadened to include not only the verbally gifted with IQ's above 130 or 135. We now tend to think of the gifted as "individuals whose performance in any line of socially useful endeavor is consistently superior."

The under-achiever is one whose performance is below his ability to achieve. In this category, the ratio of boys to girls is usually two to one. Many gifted students are under-achievers, though they may be achieving above the average for their grade. In one suburban senior high school almost half (49 percent) of the 45 students with IQ's of 130 or more on the California Test of Mental Maturity were under-achievers; in an independent boarding school only 9 percent of the 57 with IQ's of 130 or more were under-achievers. Apparently the percentage of under-achievers among gifted students varies with the nature of the school's program and the quality of its instruction, as well as with the individual student's interests and motivations. Gowan defined under-achievers among the gifted as those in

the middle third of their group in academic work; severe under-achievers as those in the lowest third. He observed that the gifted under-achiever tends to be unsociable, to feel insecure and fearful, to refrain from identifying himself with his parents or his teachers, and to develop few skills that would aid him in gaining economic independence from his family. Their problems centered around home situations. According to Gowan, if the percentage of under-achievers in a school is higher than 15, it is probable that something is wrong with the morale and social climate of the school. These students often need to be socially successful in athletics, music, a hobby, a part-time job, or some other activity. They often need effective counseling to help relieve their anxieties about sex, choice of vocation, relations with parents, and ways to earn money enough to gain some independence from a domineering or possessive parent.

The mentally retarded child is one whose mental age is considerably below his chronological age. In terms of IQ, students with IQ's from 75 to 90 are considered somewhat retarded though able to profit by a school program that is adjusted to them. Those below 70 IQ are usually assigned, in both elementary school and, more recently, in high school, to special classes for children of retarded mental development.

WHAT IS THE COUNSELOR'S RESPONSIBILITY?

The counselor who serves as the only full-time guidance worker in a school has four main functions:

[From Ruth Strang, "The Counselor's Contribution to the Guidance of the Gifted, the Under-achiever and the Retarded," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 34 (1956): 494-497. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

1. To be helpful to teachers in their guidance-while-teaching, and to teacher-counselors in their small guidance units such as the homeroom or group guidance class or core curriculum
2. To work with complex cases for which teachers have neither the time nor skill
3. To advise on policies of marking, promotion, discipline, curriculum, etc.
4. To discover and use the guidance resources of the school and community.

These four functions the counselor performs to some extent with all students, and to a greater extent with the gifted, the under-achievers, and the retarded.

More specifically, the counselor has seven main responsibilities for these exceptional children: (1) to identify them, (2) to help teachers provide the experiences they need in classes and extra-class activities, (3) to assist teacher-counselors in helping these students to accept and make the most of themselves, (4) to hold interviews as needed with these students and their parents, (5) to open up community resources and educational opportunities for them, (6) to call case conferences as needed to further the best development of these students as well as to explore complex and baffling problems, (7) to advise administrators and curriculum committees about changes in the school program that will meet their needs. Fortunately, all the students usually benefit by the efforts which the counselor makes on behalf of these individuals.

HOW TO IDENTIFY THEM

The counselor should periodically go over the cumulative records with a view to identifying these kinds of exceptional children. In Long Beach, California, the school counselors located all the students with IQ's of 120 or over, and also those whose records gave some indication of special talent in science, mathematics, art, music, mechanical ability, or social skill. Then they interviewed each of these students, with his parents if possible. In the interview they obtained additional information about educational and

vocational plans, interests and hobbies, purposes and goals. This information they recorded on a form which was added to the student's cumulative record folder.

The counselors also tried to help these students gain a sense of direction and of responsibility for profiting by the lucky combination of heredity and environment which had made them gifted in some respect. They were careful, however, not to use the words *gifted* or *superior* with the students or their parents, but rather to emphasize the social responsibility of able learners—of persons with exceptional potentialities. After each interview the counselor made a few helpful memoranda for the student's teachers, suggesting certain class or extra-class experiences that would enrich his program.

In a similar manner, counselors can identify the under-achievers and the mentally retarded students. Under-achievers are readily identified by discrepancies between their scores on intelligence tests and their over-all school marks, or marks in certain subjects.

The counselor should be very cautious about designating an individual as mentally retarded before making a thorough study of the case. Many factors may prevent an individual from demonstrating his true mental ability; these factors operate to depress the IQ. Teachers' observations of the way such an individual functions in the classroom are an important supplement to the cumulative record data.

The memoranda on each student which the counselor sends to teachers contain helpful suggestions. It is even better if the counselor can hold a short, informal conversation with the teacher, suggesting ways to meet the needs of different kinds of students in the classroom—projects, special library or free-reading periods, discussions, interest groups, or opportunities to be of service to the class as a whole. Such suggestions often stimulate teachers to enrich their classroom work.

Voluntary study groups or workshops may be formed to deal with each type of ex-

ceptional child. In these groups, the members gain a deeper understanding of the needs of these students, and share their most successful methods of helping them to realize their potentialities. Occasionally faculty meetings and departmental meetings may be devoted to this kind of sharing of experience.

Teachers especially appreciate the counselor who gives them materials they need—books and other instructional material for both gifted and retarded students. If the School Board cannot be persuaded to purchase such materials, PTA's and social and civic clubs sometimes will. This is where the counselor's community contacts come in handy.

It is most important that the counselor take the attitude that it is his function to show and help teachers rather than merely to tell them. Teachers sometimes resent the guidance person who comes in and tells them what to do. But they are grateful to the one who will demonstrate techniques, provide books, pamphlets, and information which they need, and talk over difficult cases from their point of view.

HOW TO HELP TEACHER-COUNSELORS

In a large school, even a large staff of guidance workers cannot have adequate individual contacts with all the students. A small guidance unit is necessary. Here the teacher-counselor has responsibility for a relatively small number of students, usually 30 to 35. If these teacher-counselors are to meet the needs of all the students in their group, they must have help from the specially-prepared full-time guidance person. Sometimes they can arrange to meet at lunch if they have the noon hour free. Otherwise the guidance coordinator may meet with them once a week in their free periods. In these meetings they will deal with their immediate practical problems—how to help the students plan a long-term educational and recreational program, how to interview

gifted students, under-achievers, and retarded students about the things that most concern them, how to give information about scholarship opportunities, how to use the group as an instrument of guidance.

INTERVIEWS ON MORE COMPLEX PROBLEMS

There will be cases which the teacher-counselor cannot handle. These he will refer to the more fully trained guidance worker or specialist, who may use other resources of the school and the community. Here expert skill in interviewing and case work is needed. Gifted individuals sometimes show serious maladjustment, though this is not so common among them as among the population in general. Some have problems of social adjustment and family relations. These students are usually rewarding to work with because of their keener insights and greater ability to see relations. A few gifted children have reading problems. If a gifted student is retarded in reading the counselor should try to find out whether the student is using the reading retardation to serve some purpose; how the student feels about it; what immediate conditions in the present or unrecognized influences in the past are preventing the potentially able student from putting his mind on his reading; and what procedures will be most effective in helping him to release his fettered psychological energy.

The multiple causes of under-achievement must be uncovered if possible in order to help these students to make progress. Under-achievement may stem from earlier educational deprivation and poor reading ability, from a lack of purpose or goal, from a general feeling of inadequacy and hopelessness, or from feelings of hostility and resistance directed at parents who have deprived them of the love they need. Given a chance to think through their situation, these individuals will often be able to help themselves.

The counselor's method of interviewing mentally retarded students is not different

in principle from that used with the gifted. A basic factor is respect for each individual and for the resources he has within himself. The mentally retarded will not be able to talk about themselves so fluently as the gifted; they will need more help in relating the ideas they express. However, within the limits of their experience and with the counselor's help they can gain understanding and acceptance of themselves and acquire a clearer vision of realistic educational and vocational goals and the methods of making progress toward them.

these are some of the learnings that take place.

The case conference usually consists of four parts: (1) the coordinator of the case—the person who has requested the case conference—presents all the information he has been able to collect, (2) those present pool any additional information they may have, (3) all the participants try to interpret and relate the information now available, and to formulate tentative hypotheses as to the nature and causes of the individual's failure to realize his potentialities, and (4) they make recommendations as to the next steps to be taken. Each person present may assume some specific responsibility in order to initiate immediate action.

By talking with the administrators and by sitting in at departmental meetings and with curriculum committees, counselors may bring the guidance point of view to bear on policy and practice. In their close contacts with teachers and students they become aware of needs; they can then suggest how these needs may be met in the school program as a whole.

Counseling the gifted, the under-achievers, and the mentally retarded involves knowing the characteristics and special needs of these students. It also involves having a repertory of enrichment activities to suggest for the gifted, and of appropriate practical experiences for the mentally retarded, in which they can succeed with reasonable effort and from which they will get social satisfactions. Of course, the counselor's general approaches and techniques for understanding and for working with all students, teachers, administrators, parents, and community agencies are also applicable to these special areas of guidance. Other prerequisites for successful work with the gifted, the under-achievers, and the mentally retarded are the counselor's own evaluated experience and sensitivity to each individual.

Permeating the whole process are the counselor's values and standards which he often unconsciously shares with the student. Dr. Albert Schweitzer well expressed the

HOW TO OPEN UP COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITIES AND RESOURCES

In Hartford, Connecticut, the Director of Guidance made a useful directory of all the guidance resources in the City, classified under headings such as health, mental hygiene, recreational opportunities, etc. This directory was very helpful to deans and counselors in meeting the needs of individuals. The resources in a rural county can be similarly canvassed. Some state and national facilities will also be available for individual cases and for local in-service educational programs.

THE CASE CONFERENCE

If time can be found in an unassigned period at the beginning or at the end of a school day, during teachers' free periods, or even at the noon hour, a case conference on individual students is most helpful. It not only clarifies the needs of the individual being discussed, but also contributes to the growth of all who attend—nurse, physician, psychologist, guidance worker, teacher-counselor, teachers, and others who may have contact with the individual. Everyone learns. What kinds of information are most significant, what this information means, how to synthesize it, and what to do about it;

point of view which counselors should hope to share with their counselees, all of whom have some gift which they can develop and use for social purposes. He wrote:

What ever you have received more than others in health, in talents, in

ability, in success, in a pleasant childhood, in harmonious conditions of home life, all this you must not take to yourself as a matter of course. You must pay a price for it. You must render in return an unusually great sacrifice of your life for other life.

26. TRAINING

Guidance services at the public school level have made great strides in the postwar years. However, striking as the developments have been, there is oftentimes a tremendous gap between the paper organization of guidance services and the manner in which they are actually carried out. Obviously, the inconsistency between the idea and its implementation does not stem from only one factor. The causes may be financial, philosophical, organizational, and so forth.

Before guidance can attain its objective and discharge the responsibility delegated to it by society and by the school, one indispensable condition must be met—namely that the bases of selection for guidance personnel be improved so that none but professionally trained guidance workers will be discharging guidance responsibilities. Competence and understanding on the part of the individuals who dispense guidance services is necessary to the achievement of student goals. Currently, it is no exaggeration to state that, for the country as a whole, the bases for selection of guidance workers generally, and counselors specifically, have been totally inadequate.

Although several states now have certification requirements implying a background of training and demonstrated competence, many do not. In many of the schools throughout the country the counselor is an individual who "fell" into the position. It is still the exception for an individual to obtain his training and counseling experience and then to go directly into public school counseling. The normal sequence of events often is teaching, counseling, and then a vague awareness that one does not have the skills and competencies required. This means a trip to the nearest college or an extension course to learn something about guidance. Unfortunately, by that time, the conception that "you can't do anything about these kids anyway," the frequent conclusion made by a person with inadequate training, is rather strongly ingrained.

Another factor which stands in the way of adequate counseling and guidance services is that many individuals perceive counseling positions as stepping stones to administrative responsibility and rewards. This means that during the time they are acting as guidance personnel they have no real

interest in developing skills and competencies which would enable them to understand and work productively with the individual.

Inadequate bases for selection of guidance personnel is still another factor which weakens these services. One such practice, incredible as it may seem, is to give guidance positions to individual teachers for whose classes there has been a diminished demand, thus giving them a certain amount of free time during the day. Frequently they are individuals who have an entirely different educational and personal philosophy than that which underlies the counseling service, which fact obviously precludes their working effectively with students in a counseling capacity. Another unfortunate practice is to give counseling positions to individuals because of their reputation as disciplinarians. This sort of reputation implies points of view and background which are completely inconsistent with the type of competencies needed in counseling, and the choice of such a person for counseling reflects the limited understanding that many school people have of the relationship between counseling and discipline (see Section 23). The foregoing are strong statements based upon the shared experience of the authors, not upon systematically obtained empirical data; however, they are an accurate representation of their observations. Until the basis for selection of counselors is improved, controlled, and systematized, the prognosis for the overall efficiency of guidance services cannot be very optimistic.

In the following article, Donald Super discusses the role of the school counselor and the knowledge and skills that he needs to execute his role successfully. He makes the point, previously referred to, that the counselor must actually have professional training in two broad areas—education and psychological counseling. The reader should consider the desirability of modification of some states' certification requirements so that a professional counselor does not find it necessary to complete an entire teacher-training program before beginning his work in counseling.

Following this reading, Virginia Bailard discusses in-service training programs for counselors-in-service and other school personnel.

BASIC PROBLEMS IN THE TRAINING OF HIGH SCHOOL COUNSELORS

It is perhaps not an exaggeration to state that the field of high school counseling at times resembles a battlefield of the professions in which the student is the innocent bystander caught in the crossfire of opposing

forces. The forces which sometimes come into conflict with one another include as many as five different professional groups, each of which has its own viewpoint, proponents, and vested interests. These are the

[From Donald E. Super, "Basic Problems in the Training of High School Counselors," *Teachers College Record*, 48 (1947): 384-390. Reprinted by permission of *Teachers College Record*.]

specialists in secondary education who are interested in the adjustments of individual students; the deans of boys and girls, with similar background and an interest in social adjustment; the vocational counselors, generally teachers whose attention has been focused on the importance of vocational orientation, preparation, and adjustment in our work-centered society; the social workers who, having been concerned for a generation with the adjustments of individuals in society at large have found in elementary schools a fertile field for their work and have begun to explore the possibilities in secondary schools; and finally the clinical psychologists who, in shifting from the traditional emphasis on diagnostic testing, have also begun to view the high school as an institution in which their skills as diagnosticians and counselors should find many uses. With the increasing tendency of professions to stake out areas as exclusively theirs and to obtain monopolies for the maintenance of professional and living standards, the conflicts between these groups occasionally become acute.

In the belief that there is more to be gained than lost from a frank discussion of the problem, and that schools and pupils will benefit from a clarification of the situation, I shall outline the role of high school counselor, the knowledge and skills needed, the background of the majority of persons who aspire to serve as high school counselors, the qualifications desired by those who employ them, the amount of training the average counselor can obtain, the alternatives faced by those providing training, and some proposals that seem to offer the best prospects of meeting the personnel needs of schools and the personal needs of students.

THE SCHOOL COUNSELOR

Regardless of the counselor's title or professional background, his activities include helping students with adjustments of all types. The presented and actual problems

fall into the domestic, personal, social, economic, educational, and vocational categories, and frequently cut across two or more of these, sometimes making the categorizing of the problems highly artificial. These problems often lend themselves to classification according to another system, namely, as situational or attitudinal. Some problems are primarily the result of a situation, which may range from a drunken father to a lack of contacts with persons in some occupation about which the student wants to learn firsthand; while other problems are primarily the result of attitudes which make it difficult for the student to get along with others or to give up as unsuitable a type of education that is not in line with his abilities.

There are at least two other essential functions of the high school counselor which should be included here—those of curriculum and of instruction consultant. Although he generally has no such title, the competent and effective counselor is in a position to contribute to the improvement of the curriculum through his understanding of the psychological needs of students and of the occupational and social world to which they must adjust on leaving school. The counselor's special knowledge of individual students and his training in the psychology of learning, including such things as intelligence, motivation, and interest, qualify him to give assistance to classroom teachers in adjusting their content and methods to the needs and possibilities of the students they work with. Indeed, the role of the counselor as a special collaborator of classroom teachers is gaining in recognition by forward-looking educators.

KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS NEEDED BY THE COUNSELOR

The nature of the problems encountered by high school counselors makes it clear that each member of the counseling staff must

have at least some orientation in the fields of remedial instruction, curriculum development, psychotherapy, social case work, vocational psychology, vocational economics, and placement work in order to increase the probability that they may properly identify the problems and may function as a team. The counseling staff should include persons with the special training necessary for rendering professional service of each of these types, otherwise such service should be available from some accessible cooperating organization, such as a child guidance clinic or the state employment service. In a large school system it may be most effective for the counseling staff to include a number of specialists working under the supervision of someone sufficiently informed in all of these areas to be able to coordinate and develop their work. But in most school systems the counseling services have not yet been developed to such a high degree, and in some they will not be for many years to come, because of inability to finance such an organization. Eighty percent of the 28,000 high schools have fewer than two hundred students and only eight or ten teachers. In many communities the special services are not available on a sufficiently large scale, if at all, to supplement effectively the work of the school counseling staff.

This raises the very important question of the nature of the compromise arrangements which must characterize most school systems for years to come. Granted that most schools cannot or will not afford to employ special remedial teachers, psychotherapists, social workers, vocational counselors, and placement workers, what kind of training should be provided for the men and women who will do whatever counseling is done in our secondary schools? Before this question can be answered, we must consider the qualifications of the typical aspirant to high school counseling jobs, the qualifications generally required by school officials, and the amount of training a school counselor can afford. If we do not plan in terms of these factors, our proposals will come to naught.

WHO ASPIRES TO BE A SCHOOL COUNSELOR?

The aspirations of individuals to work of any type are governed by the prospects of actually obtaining employment in it. If the doors were open to persons with various types of professional training, and if persons in those professions were aware of the opportunities, we should probably find aspirants to high school counseling representing all or most of those professions. As it is, however, the doors are virtually closed to those who lack certain types of training and experience.

Unfortunately, there are no systematic studies of this question to provide a neat and reliable answer. However, while working with social workers, clinical psychologists, teachers, and counselors in social agencies, hospitals, schools, and universities, one gathers some impressions concerning the employment objectives of men and women preparing for or working in these related fields. The great majority of aspirants to counseling work in high schools are men and women with some background in secondary education, whose interest is primarily in secondary education. They tend to identify themselves with schools and with teachers rather than with social agencies and social workers or with professional or scientific psychology. People generally aspire to positions in institutions which are respected by their professional group and which strengthen rather than weaken their in-group status. For social workers these are case-work agencies, hospitals, and other welfare organizations. For psychologists they are universities, colleges, industries, clinics, and hospitals. One occasionally encounters a recent college graduate with a psychology major who thinks he might like to be a counselor in a high school, or someone with experience in industry or a social agency who thinks he would find guidance in secondary schools more congenial; but these men and women usually do no more than think about the possibility,

because they lack teacher training and experience. Psychology and social work are opening new fields of professional activity and are, therefore, open to changes in professional orientation, but the students in these fields will still probably be psychologists and social workers first and educationists only in a secondary sense. Are they, under the circumstances, likely to break into high school guidance work in substantial numbers?

WHO WILL BE EMPLOYED AS HIGH SCHOOL COUNSELORS?

It is virtually impossible to obtain employment as a high school counselor unless one has a teacher's certificate and a year or more of experience as a high school teacher. One must have had an undergraduate major, or at least a strong minor, in a subject normally taught in high school, a number of prescribed courses in professional education, and a period of employment as a teacher (more likely to amount to ten years than to one) in which one has of necessity practically severed whatever tenuous connection one may have had with another profession such as psychology or social work. Since, in practice, the majority of men and women appointed to positions as high school counselors have previously been employed as classroom teachers in the same or in a near-by school system, it will be seen that the high school counselor labor supply consists almost entirely of individuals whose background and orientation are those of secondary education.

This is likely to be true for many years, partly because institutional change is slow, and partly because there are some valid reasons for the practice. There is a strong feeling among school administrators that anyone who works in an educational situation should be thoroughly familiar with educational problems from the point of view of the classroom teacher. While it is true that this

principle has not been applied to school psychologists and to school social workers, the facts are that these groups are not large, and that no group of people in the schools had been performing the functions which they took over. Counseling in high schools, however, has long been considered the province of teachers and former teachers—tradition which will not easily be changed. To require that a high school counselor know schools as an insider is comparable to the requirement that a social worker know the community. In time it may be considered good policy to select the best qualified counselor, with or without a background of professional education, and help him get the orientation he needs, rather than to appoint a teacher to a counseling position with or without the expectation that he will obtain the training in guidance he still lacks. But that time is distant.

HOW MUCH TRAINING WILL A TEACHER OBTAIN?

How much training can one expect a classroom teacher who wishes to qualify as a counselor to obtain? The school and the general public cannot, of course, afford to have him get less than the minimum necessary to enable him to do his work competently. But from the point of view of the individual teacher, the problem is to a substantial degree one of economics, of chances that the investment in training will yield a financial return sufficient to warrant making it. If the answer were based solely on economics, the amount of training in guidance obtained by the average high school counselor would be negligible, for in general only those who need a Master's degree for a pay raise would have any incentive. High school counselors are generally paid at about the same rate as teachers, and there are more opportunities for promotion to departmental or school administrative positions than there are to positions as director of guidance.

However, not a few teachers consider the work more satisfying than classroom teaching and are willing to make some sacrifice in order to obtain such positions, and many have high enough professional standards to feel compelled to improve their qualifications for their new work. The great majority of high school counselors are therefore men and women who, after paying for at least part of their education as classroom teachers and working for a number of years in an underpaid field, must themselves carry the whole burden of financing their professional training as counselors. This means that most of them can afford no more than a year of graduate work in guidance, and that very often only in summer sessions or evening classes.

A DOUBLE DILEMMA

Because we are concerned with the training of high school counselors, we find ourselves faced with a double problem of schools which need either a large counseling staff comprising a variety of specialists, or a small counseling staff consisting of one or two counselors trained in a number of related specialties and of other counselors who can afford to obtain only about one year of graduate training and need to decide whether, in that time, to obtain a smattering of training in each of the special aspects of guidance or to strive for at least minimum competence in one of the narrower specialties.

It is obviously impossible for a student of guidance to do in one year of graduate training what a graduate student in psychology does in three years or a student of social work does in two years, and the additional things which, as a school counselor, he must do in order to meet the peculiar needs of the high school field. He must find some compromise which will make him as employable as possible in both complex and simple high school guidance organizations (most often as a combination teacher-counselor)

and which will qualify him to help with some of the adjustment problems that will come to his attention.

A DOUBLE SOLUTION

Such a complex problem can be solved only by a complex plan. This involves providing several different types of training at the Master's degree level, each in a usable specialty within the field of guidance, but each including some orientation to the other specialties, and neither assuming any previous preparation other than the generally required training and experience as a teacher which provide first-hand knowledge of children and the necessary institutional orientation. Thus a classroom teacher preparing to be a high school counselor might, to earn the Master's degree, major in vocational guidance, in diagnostic and remedial instruction, or in problems of social adjustment. In any case he would have a year's course in the psychology of adjustment, a semester's course in the organization and conduct of guidance programs, a semester's course in measurement, and a course in the principles and techniques of counseling. If his specialty were the handling of problems of vocational adjustment and preparation for vocational life, his program would include intensive work in vocational psychology (including aptitude and interest measurement, job satisfaction, and job analysis) and in vocational economics and sociology (including the study of industrial and occupational trends), together with a course in methods of disseminating information about vocational and educational opportunities, but he would obtain only a nodding acquaintance with remedial reading and with the organization and conduct of student activities. If he specialized in diagnostic and remedial instruction, he would work intensively on individual intelligence testing, diagnostic achievement testing, methods of instruction and study, and aspects of personality adjustment espe-

cially likely to have a bearing on motivation and learning. Specialization in social adjustment would involve training in family relations and group work, and some exposure to nondirective counseling.

I see no possibility, at the Master's degree level, of preparing "generalists" in the field of guidance, as one academic year does not provide enough time for more than orientation to the different areas with which a well-rounded counselor should be familiar. If the counselor is to help students solve their problems, he must have more than mere survey knowledge such as the facts that Strong's Blank is a "good" vocational interest inventory, that reading problems are often related to parent-child relationships, and that a major objective of nondirective counseling is to help the client to assume responsibility for living his own life in his own way. The counselor must know what a specific pattern of scores on Strong's Blank means in terms of interest maturity, success, and satisfaction; he must know how to find out whether or not a particular reading problem is emotional in its origin or merely one of poor habits, and how to retrain them if the latter is true; how to refrain from projecting his own values onto the client and, instead, how to accept the client as he is and so to reflect the latter's feeling as to bring about self-acceptance and self-insight in the client. Generalists in the field of guidance are needed in secondary schools as elsewhere; but in a field such as this the only generalists are super-generalists with several years of graduate training and even more of experience. Lacking such, specialists with limited but usable training and services limited in their scope seem the best substitutes.

This leads to the second part of the proposed complex plan, namely, that work for the doctorate in guidance should be, not in any one of the specialties such as were suggested above, but rather in the general field of guidance. The objective would be sufficient competence in each of the major areas of guidance in secondary schools for effec-

tive work with any type of problem which did not need referral to a physician and for coordination of the work of specialists in each of these types of adjustment. At the same time, there would be emphasis on some one aspect of the field in order to develop further the special interests and abilities of the counselor.

It may be objected that, in proposing to train specialists in one year and generalists in three, I am reversing what has been found to be most effective in other professions. Such an objection is without foundation, however, in the professions of social work and engineering, in which specialists are trained in the initial program and where there is no training of generalists (Princeton's "basic engineering" to the contrary notwithstanding). The objection, if made, would be based on a misconception of medical training, in which general practitioners are trained in the initial program and specialists are trained in later sequences. But general practitioners are produced, not in one year of training superimposed upon experience in a related field, but in three years of training followed by one year of supervised and highly pertinent experience, so that the general practitioner is in fact a super-generalist and the specialist is a super-specialist. The pharmacist, medical technologist, and X-ray technician are the lower-level specialists in medicine, and the generalists in the field, the druggist and the barber, who used to prescribe and even operate on the basis of minimal training, are now extinct as physicians. The barber-technician-practitioner-specialist sequence in medicine is in reality paralleled by that of general counselor at the lowest level, vocational counselor, remedial specialist or "social" counselor at the technician's or Master's level, counselor or director of guidance at the practitioner's or doctor's level, and consulting psychologist at the specialist's or post-doctoral level after experience has been obtained in the varied fields of guidance and advanced specialization has taken place in one of them.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR GUIDANCE WORKERS

The problem of an in-service training program in the field of guidance is fourfold, for it must be aimed at the administrator, the counselor, the faculty, and the parents. These are the people who surround the student and affect his behavior. Too, these are the people who are the greatest influences in his life.

Each one of these groups can help make or break a guidance program; so it would seem desirable to think through ways and means of helping each to do a better job.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING IN THE FIELD OF GUIDANCE FOR THE ADMINISTRATOR

There are still many administrators who feel that counselors should get students registered in the proper courses, perhaps give a battery of tests, post scholarships, and maybe work on a few so-called "problem students." The rest of the time, they feel, can be well spent on administrative duties. It is our job, as supervisors or directors of guidance programs, to help these administrators understand what a real, well-balanced program manned by trained counselors can do for a school so that we can get full cooperation.

We need to help the administrator to keep in mind constantly the welfare of the individual student rather than the convenient mechanical devices which make a school run smoothly administratively. We need to let him know that helping students to make satisfactory personal and social adjustments; making a wise choice of vocation; making a wise choice of appropriate courses to suit their needs—all make for good mental health among students and, therefore, a happier school situation. We need to help the administrator to develop the guidance point of view, and, finally, we need to show him

where the guidance program can contribute to the curriculum.

There are many things which we can do to help the administrator realize what a good guidance program is and how it can help his school. We might talk through a few case histories representing problems in personal adjustment, social adjustment, vocational problems, etc. He would be interested in something that is currently "on the fire," so that he could watch things develop and he would learn much about the counseling process from this.

We can take him to guidance meetings and see that he talks to outstanding people in the field, and we can invite him to our counselors' meetings in order that he can feel close to developments there and get a real sense of the values of our work.

We might leave unusually good—but brief—articles or excerpts from articles and books on guidance on his desk from time to time so he can be informed on the trends throughout the country. Many times administrators need the support of knowing that other schools throughout the country are building extensive guidance programs.

We might arrange to have him participate on programs where it is his job to "sell" the audience on some good guidance practices. Before he "sells" others, he will have to get himself "sold," and in the process he will learn a great deal about it all.

We can either see that he has personal contact with placement officers or that he gets pertinent material from them. By this method he may know the occupational needs of his community and gear his curriculum to it. Part of our job as guidance workers is to point up the needs of the students and the community.

We can bring to the administrator con-

[From Virginia Bailard, "In-service Training for Guidance Workers," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 36 (1950): 54-60. Reprinted by permission of *Educational Administration and Supervision*.]

stantly problems in the curriculum offerings which counselors uncover almost daily. Counselors are in the best possible position to keep the administrator informed of the "hitches" in the curriculum, and it is their duty to do so.

These methods, then, among others, might be useful in helping administrators to appreciate the values of a guidance program.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR COUNSELORS

Since it is such common practice to appoint a counselor from the ranks of the faculty, whether or not that person has had any training in counseling, it is tremendously important for us to develop and maintain an extensive in-service training program to bring these people up to professional standing. The in-service training for counselors might be approached from these angles: building morale, helping in techniques, and providing for helpful information.

Raising Morale. We should help the counselor to keep his chin up. The kinds of problems he runs into in his daily work, the frustrations and pressures of his job are all very wearing. It is easy to become discouraged in this type of work. We should do all possible to give the counselor a lift. We should give him praise and recognition for the good work that he does, and also give him encouragement when the work has gotten him down. We should let him know that we appreciate the contribution he is making to the whole school so that he has a feeling of satisfaction and worthiness. And finally, we should ask for and use his advice on curriculum offerings so that he will have a sense of importance.

Giving Help in Improvement of Techniques Used in Counseling. We can provide for group discussion of various techniques either in counselors' meetings, institute sessions, or other group gatherings. We can give demonstration interviews—including counselor-student and counselor-parent situations.

We can supervise interviews through the use of a one-way vision room, whether it be standard or improvised. And, we can provide for "recordings" of interviews which counselors have. The counselor can play these back to himself and criticize his part. The supervisor might also help him to evaluate the interviews.

We can give demonstrations of administering and interpreting tests. We can provide for workshops in vocational aptitude and interest testing. Counselors can take the tests, score and interpret them under supervision. School time could be used for this. And we can provide for training classes in individual testing. This, too, could be done on school time.

We can provide for workshops in group guidance. Help should be given in techniques and content. Counselors need a great deal of help with this type of work because few training classes have been offered in this phase of guidance.

The supervisor and counselor might observe the same child and follow that by a discussion and evaluation of resultant anecdotal records. The supervisor might sit in on case conferences which the counselor is conducting and have an evaluating conference later. Constructive evaluations can be very educational.

We can provide for the use of educational films which would be helpful in this area. Perhaps we could make one cooperatively with our staff and that of the audio-visual department. We can hold discussions concerning methods of approach to working with a teacher who has a student with a problem, and, finally, we can provide for extension courses in this phase of guidance.

Providing Helpful Information. We should provide for a series of lectures by the school psychologist in areas of social case-work, identification of problems, interpretation of tests from clinical point of view, and identification and placement of academically retarded children. There can be discussions between the counselor and the psychologist of

the severe cases referred to the psychologist by the counselor. We can recommend helpful reading materials in the field of psychology. Too, we can give help in the selection of remedial reading materials for teachers.

In the area of occupations, it would be well to provide for talks by the placement officer at counselors' meetings as well as talks by men in industry. Trips through industrial plants, too, are extremely worthwhile, for here the counselor gets first-hand information. Mimeographed materials concerning the field of occupations should be distributed to counselors so that they may be kept up to date on the world at work. Sources for occupational material should be provided to counselors so that they can build their occupational files to a point of adequacy.

Counselors need help and it is our job to help them.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING IN THE FIELD OF GUIDANCE FOR THE TEACHER

Since the teacher is the person who contacts the student every day, knows him well, and has such a very definite effect on him, it is surely important for us to help the teacher to become a real asset and working part of the guidance program. Counselors and their supervisors can work together to do this.

We Can Help the Teacher to a Better Understanding of the Students. This is one of the most important of the responsibilities that counselors and supervisors have. We can execute it by providing for lectures on child and adolescent psychology and by talking over with the teacher his students with problems, pointing out underlying causes of behavior. Too, we can help him to identify children with problems by talking over the characteristics of any deviates to be found in the class and by pointing out ways to work with these deviates.

The recommendation of good reading ma-

terial in the area of human behavior is helpful to the teacher. Counselors and supervisors are in a position to do this. They are also in a position to secure and show educational films having to do with understanding the behavior of children.

The teacher should be invited to participate in case conferences and teacher conferences which are followed by an evaluative discussion. They should also be invited to participate in workshops in the area of human behavior geared specifically for teachers, and they should be encouraged to take extension courses or regular university courses in psychology.

We Can Help the Teacher to Develop Better Techniques of Working with Students. The provision of demonstration interviews which depict good approaches to students and/or parents and discussions emphasizing necessity for listening to students and listening to parents can be very helpful and should have a large place in the in-service training program.

Discussions and demonstrations of constructive discipline, where discipline is necessary, can be most effectively done by role-playing. When the teacher actually participates in such situations, he gets a fine "feeling" for the true meaning of discipline and wise technique for its use. The teacher should be encouraged to use the data on the cumulative records, for this would stimulate his interest in the individual student, and he should be persuaded to use emphasis of the child's success as a motivating force as against that of failure. Accentuating the positive should be the slogan of all guidance workers.

We Can Help the Teacher to Contribute to and Use Records Effectively. Supervisors and counselors are in a position to help the teacher immeasurably in this area through discussions and presentations of examples of good anecdotal records, autobiographies, etc.; through discussions on the importance of recording positive aspects of students' behavior; through discussions of how and

where to record significant behavior; by illustrating how the use of the cumulative record can help the teacher to understand the child better and so meet his needs more effectively; and by illustrating how information in the cumulative record can help the teacher to prepare for a parent interview.

We Can Provide the Teacher with Useful Guidance Materials. Occupational material in his field—or in many fields if he happens to teach a unit in occupations; orientation materials—student handbook, directories, etc.; materials in the area of personality development—for perusal by his students as well as by himself; books and articles in guidance which help him to get a feeling for the thing that guidance people are trying to do can all be extremely helpful to the teacher both for practical daily use and for his own growth in this field.

If the teacher can be helped in the ways mentioned above, he should become a valuable cog in the guidance machine.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR PARENTS

We know that a great deal of the success we might have with a pupil at school can be undone by his parents when he goes home. We also know that a tremendous amount of our "business" stems from home situations. It is extremely important, then, that we do everything possible to help parents do a better job with their children. This is work for counselors, administrators and teachers.

We Can Help Parents to Understand Their Children Better. There are several ways in which we can all be of service to parents in this field. We can provide a series of lectures on this topic by an able person. We can get PTA's to sponsor a series of meetings having to do with child and adolescent psychology. (Educational films can be used here also.) And we can get PTA's to use speakers on health and nutrition.

Guidance staff members should hold individual conferences with parents who have children with problems or potential problems. (The school social workers can be helpful here.) We can prepare and send out an annotated list of sound, readable books and articles to parents on the subject of "Understanding Children," and we can also send home pamphlets illustrated by cartoons and with very little writing to carry this message. We should at all times encourage high schools and colleges to offer courses in Family Life Education. It is only through such classes that the great mass of our future generation of parents can become adequately prepared for their responsibilities.

We Can Help Parents to Handle Their Children Better. We can set up training classes for mothers and encourage them to organize and operate cooperative play groups. Observation groups can be set up where parents can watch children being handled by experts. Nursery school situations are excellent for this. Mothers might be invited to observe expert primary teachers at work with children. All of these methods can be most helpful to parents of small children.

Parent meetings should be held on the subject of "An Occupation For Your Child," to help them to be more realistic in regard to the occupational future of their offspring and to take off the pressure many parents put on their children whom they are overestimating. Probably there is no guidance worker in the country who has not faced the problem of helping parents to properly appraise their child. General meetings can be very helpful in the attack on this issue.

There are many things we, as supervisors of guidance programs, can do, then, to help administrators, counselors, teachers, and parents to work cooperatively and effectively toward the welfare of young people. It is our job to do these things. It is the way we can serve youth best.

27. RESEARCH IN COUNSELING

The development of counseling into a systematized framework upon which the outcomes of therapy can be predicted with a high degree of assurance and confidence will ultimately be a function of experimentation and research. At the current level of development the ability of the counselor to predict the outcomes of his counseling efforts is extremely limited, particularly with respect to the long-term goals of counseling. In essence, counseling is not within sight of attaining that goal which epitomizes the value of science—namely, predictability.

Does this imply a need for highly refined statistical designs and skills which are far beyond the competence and inclination of the counselor? Probably it does not. It does, however, imply an inquiring mind, a willingness to examine one's own assumptions, a readiness to test knowledge that has been developed, and a willingness to share one's findings.

What are the implications for the school counselor of this need for research? The most important one is that the counselor realize that the type of activity in which he engages every day can be recorded systematically; recorded and examined in the light of stated hypotheses and basic assumptions. If each school counselor were to take even 15 percent of his cases and evaluate them in a systematic, careful fashion, undoubtedly a tremendous amount of information would be gained in terms of how to deal with individuals more adequately.

The second implication is that the school counselor be consciously aware of the research that exists and develop sufficient skill to enable him to examine this research and relate it to his own counseling procedures. Granted much of the research is inconclusive and incomplete, there is nonetheless an expanding body of knowledge being developed which should be tested and examined in actual counseling practice. Who is in a more advantageous position to test this knowledge than the school counselor?

Many examples of such invaluable research activity on the part of counselors could be cited. They include problems of test interpretation, group guidance, and other guidance procedures which could be extremely valuable, if they were recorded and published. Such independent contributions multiplied by the number of counselors that are now functioning in the public schools would add greatly to our counseling knowledge.

The reader may well ask at this point whether we are not being overly demanding. Don't we know on logical grounds that changes in behavior do take place as a result of counseling? On logical grounds most counselors may feel

secure in the belief that there is a relationship between what they do and subsequent change on the part of the client. However, such "intuitive" knowledge is inadequate for prediction and justification of one's techniques and procedures.

As recently as 1955, in the *Annual Review of Psychology*, Hobbs and Seeman stated that the "evidence seems to indicate counseling procedures do cause changes in the 'right direction.' This certainly cannot be claimed as overwhelming evidence to substantiate and justify the position of the counselor in our society."

Beyond the basic question that has just been asked, research activities must be directed toward demonstrating the relationship between outcomes and changes in behavior, and specific phenomena within the counseling process. Only when that is done will we have a sound basis for comparison of methods and techniques, used within the framework of existing systems, and the basis for forming an eclecticism.

The following three articles, by P. L. Dressel, E. J. Shoben, Jr., and H. B. Pepinsky, were all part of a symposium on research in counseling which appeared in a 1953 issue of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*. The authors discuss, respectively, approaches, problems, and proposals for such research.

SOME APPROACHES TO EVALUATION

Research in and evaluation of counseling is a continuing interest and irritation to those concerned with counseling. Many studies that are completed and published really add little to the knowledge about the area because of unrecognized weaknesses. Critiques or summaries of research are also rather common, but commonly they stop short of pointing ways to overcome the weaknesses noted in the articles under criticism.

The present paper attempts to summarize certain aspects of attempts to evaluate counseling, to point out some of the major difficulties, and to suggest some principles or procedures which would assist in overcoming these difficulties. Following papers by Shoben and Pepinsky elaborate still further on two of the major issues raised in this paper. The trio of papers represents an attempt by members of the research committee of the Division of Counseling and Guidance of the American Psychological Association to make some constructive suggestions to encourage and improve research in counseling.

The initial step to furnish a basis for this paper was that of surveying evaluation studies appearing during the period 1945-1950, with particular attention being given to the criteria used and the experimental design. The survey made was by no means exhaustive but did involve scanning a large number of studies of which 39 were selected as sufficiently promising for more detailed

[From P. L. Dressel, "Research in Counseling: A Symposium—Some Approaches to Evaluation," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 31 (1953): 284-287. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

study. Ultimately, only 12 of these were deemed sufficiently clear in design and definition of criteria to be truly instructive. The following remarks include suggestions based both on the qualities characteristic of the better planned studies, as well as generalizations growing out of the experience of reading the larger set of studies.

Three major approaches to research found in the evaluation studies were:

Studies of the counseling process itself, exemplified by studies of the: relation of counselee talk to counseling effectiveness; effect of self-selection of tests; assumption of responsibility by the client; relation between counselor dominance and use of the nondirective technique; and use of silence.

Studies of the outcomes of counseling. Objective examples are: increase in insight or self-understanding; increase in self-acceptance and self-respect; increase in self-sufficiency; improved personal adjustment; improved occupational adjustment or vocational choice; increase in acceptance of and respect for others; improved grades; improved attitudes; and satisfaction with counseling.

Studies based on data accruing from tests and rating procedures where the outcomes are implicit in the technique rather than explicit. Examples are found in the use of such materials as tests and well-defined scoring or rating procedures (MMPI, Rorschach, Bell, Bernreuter, Willoughby E. M. Scales, Thematic Apperception, Luria score, Discomfort-Relief quotient); and unformalized subjective ratings (counselor rating of client adjustment and rating of intensity and direction of client feeling).

The research designs for the various studies ranged from those carefully thought out in advance to those completely fortuitous. Only two of the studies reviewed had a really noteworthy experimental design. In particular, the problem of control groups or controlling variables was ignored or unsatisfactorily treated. . . .

When the opportunity was presented to the committee to sponsor a symposium on

research it seemed to be a suitable opportunity to share these thoughts with others. As the organization of the various viewpoints proceeded, it became apparent that somewhat distinctive viewpoints were developing. Hence, three somewhat overlapping and not entirely consistent viewpoints are developed in the three papers, rather than a single viewpoint which had originally been anticipated.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to the task of suggesting some of the major difficulties involved in doing research or evaluation in counseling. An article entitled "Studies in Client Centered Psychotherapy, No. 1," appearing in the *Psychological Service Center Journal, III* (March-June, 1951), Nos. 1 and 2, will be heavily drawn upon. This article, jointly authored by Gordon, Grummon, Rogers, and Seeman, presents an excellent analysis which closely parallels some of the thinking in this paper, although at many points it goes well beyond it.

It is apparent that there is a lack of well-planned and executed research in counseling and psychotherapy. The nature of the process is complex and many people dispair of any effective controlled research being carried on in the area. One concern is that the more obvious aspects of counseling may actually have less significance than the more subtle aspects which are difficult to isolate even if we become aware of them. Another concern is that a research program may so disturb and distort the outcomes as to do considerable harm and yield little of value.

In addition to the two basic concerns just mentioned which underlie all attempts at research in this field, there are at least three additional difficulties. The first of these is in the definition of criteria; the second, that of experimental design; and the third, that of financing such projects.

We noted previously that research studies can be divided into studies involving the process of therapy or studies involving the outcomes of therapy. Studies in the process may focus on the counselor behavior, may focus on the client behavior, or on the interactions of these two. However, the process

of therapy is important only in terms of what results from that therapy. It seems, then, that it is not particularly significant to study various phases of the therapeutic process or to compare processes until we have some reasonable hypotheses as to the results of therapy and are able to compare processes in terms of outcomes. These outcomes may be explicitly stated in terms of changes on personality tests, descriptions of behavior of the client after counseling, and the like. A common approach to research explicit in many projects and implicit in others is a concern about proving that therapy is good or bad. This introduction of the concept of success raises many and perhaps unnecessary difficulties, for a particular behavior such as a divorce or dropping out of college may be good or bad depending upon other factors in the individual case and also depending upon the orientation of the individual making the judgment. Success defined in terms of better adjustment is no less equivocal. In short, success involves a value judgment which must of necessity be different for different people and for different cultural patterns.

One way out of this dilemma is to consider and determine the effects of therapy. Thus, we may raise such questions as whether therapy affects learning, perception, rigidity, and the like. For example, it is reasonable to expect that therapy may change the way in which an individual draws upon his personal resources in facing a problem. If we can define some of these possible effects, we can search for evidence that such changes take place in the individual counseled.

Viewed in this way, an attempt to evaluate counseling would start with the formulation of an hypothesis preferably based on some particular psychological theory. By stating this hypothesis in operational terms, it may become clear how the hypothesis is to be tested. Quite likely, this will result in some suggestions as to how the testing of the hypothesis is to be undertaken. Next, the instruments or procedures are selected or developed to carry out the necessary opera-

tions and, finally, the particular samples and controls are selected through which these instruments or techniques are to be applied.

The issue remains as to whether the development of the particular characteristics specified in the hypothesis is good or bad. This judgment, however, can be made independently of the fact that therapy or a particular type of therapy is instrumental in developing this particular characteristic.

The second major difficulty in carrying out research in the field of counseling is that of experimental design. Experimental design as a statistical procedure is a rapidly developing discipline with which too few of us are really familiar.

It is desirable to set up a planned design which utilizes knowledge of statistical theory, so that a truly meaningful analysis can be undertaken and appropriate tests of significance made. Of immediate concern is the problem of adequate control. It is practically impossible to provide adequate control groups in attempting to show the effects of the therapeutic procedure, but with due regard for the use of proper statistical techniques it may be that the necessity of control groups is actually overrated, for we can designate those variables which are thought to be relevant to therapy and then arrange to account for these variables in collecting and analyzing the data. Thus, the more commonly used types of control may be replaced by a type of statistical control involving analysis of covariance. The need for this is seen in considering the common situation in which those individuals who undergo some definite program of counseling are compared with other individuals who have had no contact with counselors. The personal attention given to the client by the counselor may have a highly beneficial effect apart from any therapeutic program. This is analogous to the situation in medical research on drugs where the necessity for treating the control groups with a placebo has been realized. In short, it is felt that by substituting the concept of control variable or phenomenon for that of control groups and by having recourse to consultants well

aware of most recent developments in the field of statistical theory it is possible to overcome many of the difficulties associated with experimental design.

A THIRD MAJOR DIFFICULTY

A third major difficulty in connection with setting up research projects in the field of counseling is that of finance. Research requires time and money. Only those who have attempted to carry out a research project in this field have a real conception of the amount of time and effort involved. About two or three years ago Matteson of the Michigan State College counseling staff and the writer were engaged in a research study. We found that a rather small project involving only 50 cases but which required initial testing, post-testing and follow-up, with interviewing and recording, and committee judgment of recordings added up to over 1,200 man hours. The time involved does not tell the whole story because finding these hours without interfering with other work, scheduling space, arranging for recording equipment and the like, involved additional but unrecorded time from those carrying out the project.

AN ISSUE OF INTEREST

An issue of interest to our committee . . . was that of determining how counseling centers connected with colleges and

universities are able to finance the research which they carry on. The problem originally arose because of the comment very frequently heard that people are unable to carry on research because of the lack of research funds. There arose a suspicion that many centers noted for the amount of research which they were doing had no more direct grants from foundations or such sources than other centers apparently unable to carry on research. It was agreed, then, that another part of the work of this committee might well be that of surveying the extent of the research in college counseling centers and the basis upon which it is financed. William A. Mann has been engaged in such a survey but results are still too incomplete to permit any generalizations.

This paper has reviewed some of the problems involved in evaluation of counseling. It is apparent that all too little attention is being given to the definition in operational terms of outcomes of counseling. It is equally apparent that experimental design receives insufficient attention. The author's reaction is that much research is of a dilettante nature, with more interest in getting results and publishing them than in arriving at definite and usable conclusions. The most obvious corrective measure, evidence in reports earlier mentioned and emanating from the University of Chicago Counseling Center, is that of utilizing more time in careful planning.

SOME PROBLEMS IN ESTABLISHING CRITERIA OF EFFECTIVENESS

. . . And what are the goals of "good" counseling? Obviously, the melioration of the client's state—the "improving" of his

circumstances, the enlarging of his "happiness," the alteration of his reactions in the direction of "greater adequacy" or "better

[From E. J. Shoben, Jr., "Research in Counseling: A Symposium—Some Problems in Establishing Criteria of Effectiveness," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 31 (1953): 287-291. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

integration." *Do not these general statements of counseling goals imply an inevitable involvement with the valuations of the client and those others to whom he is significantly related?*

If the goal of counseling is some kind of client improvement—improved vocational choice or academic planning, improved marital relationships, or improved personal conduct in the sense of less anxiety, greater self-acceptance, more sociability, or less conflictual relationships to authority—then it would seem that the theories upon which investigators of counseling effectiveness must levy include those having to do with the nature of psychological health. Such theories of psychological health to some degree embody of necessity the values of a community; and while the researcher in this area may disavow *qua* investigator any responsibility for changing or for judging these values, it would seem that he cannot legitimately ignore them. They are too intimately connected to the problem of criteria. And this brings us to a pretty point regarding the validation of whatever criteria may be invoked as touchstones of the effectiveness of counseling.

The usual design in studies of counseling efficacy involves, with appropriate controls, some kind of pre- and postcounseling testing. The efficiency of the counseling process is inferred from a change in a predetermined direction in obtained scores or indices. The crucial question posed by the position taken here is this: Does any given research criterion relate significantly to the values of psychological health as they are expressed and acted upon in the real world?

It is possible, of course, to disregard the force of this question by arguing that counseling effectiveness in any particular study is defined in terms of the testing operations invoked and that therefore the meaning of "improvement" is clearly specified in that context. Such a contention is quite accurate and provokes no argument. There are two limiting points, however, to note in connection with it.

The first has to do with the nature of op-

erational definitions, so crucial in the vague frontier area of research in counseling outcomes. It is perfectly possible to define concepts that are unequivocal but which have only the most dubious utility. Thus, creativity can be readily defined in terms of the production of M-responses on the Rorschach. The operations here are thoroughly explicit and repeatable. Yet one wonders just what the term creativity implies when one finds, as Rust did, the M-responses are unrelated to ratings by art supervisors of pencil and colored drawings. It apparently does *not* imply the kind of "creativity" involved in the production of drawings. Thus, the operation of defining creativity in terms of M-responses is explicit but of doubtful meaningfulness until its specific relationships are delineated. In research on the effectiveness of counseling the same lesson applies: Until the operational criteria used in specific studies are related to the realities of the client's actual world, their meaningfulness remains moot and controversial.

The second point deals with the generality of the interpretations generated by studies utilizing criteria of client improvement that are markedly restricted by their very nature. Williamson and Bordin in 1941 underscored the inadequacy of such part-criteria as wages, grades, or reported job satisfaction on precisely this ground of restricted generality; such criteria tell too little of the story of what has actually happened to a client as a result of counseling. Similarly, it should be noted that in Froelich's commendable and courageous effort to develop a more useful conception of criteria, it was found that the agreement between ratings of client occupational adjustment by the counselor and by an independent interview was anything but striking. Where such ratings constitute criteria, not only is one faced with the unhappy problem of deciding which rater is "correct," but any statements about the effectiveness of the counseling process under scrutiny are sharply limited.

In such a situation, it would seem that the decision as to which judge is more correct—and such situations are not limited to those

involving judgments—can only be reached through relating the conflicting criteria to the extraclinical behavior of the client, struggling to come to grips with a real world in which community values substantially define his psychological health. Thus, we are brought full circle to our central point that research in counseling effectiveness must be concerned with the valuations the client makes of his experience of counseling and the valuations placed upon the client before and after his counseling experience by what Sullivan calls his "significant others."

Against this kind of background, some of the criteria in current use show up in sharper and more favorable figure than do others. Sociometric studies, for example, examining clients' changes in position *vis-à-vis* a group, involve some implicit regard for the valuations made by others in terms of social acceptability. Similarly, follow-up investigations concerned with judgments of improvement rendered by family members, work associates, friends, and others, while presenting certain methodological problems, also reflect an appropriate awareness of the necessity of evaluating counseling outcomes in terms of extraclinical adjustments and the way those adjustments are regarded by the community.

On the other hand, such social criteria as increased social participation must be subjected to careful examination. Most of us are quite familiar with the neurotic "joiner," who rushes from group to group in a frantic quest for a nurturant haven or in vicious pursuit of an organization that he can dominate and thus fulfill aggressive and power needs that are quite outside the psychological health values of the community. Likewise, nearly all of us have had sad experiences of the participant in group discussions who talks too much rather than too little and whose verbal behavior reflects little of the sensitivity to group purposes or the willingness to cooperate in attaining group ends that are part and parcel of the set of values defining psychological health.

Such considerations suggest that a more appropriate criterion of the social participa-

tion sort would involve attention to the quality of a client's interaction with other group members. Following Bales, for example, we might profitably study the effects of counseling on the ratio of solidarity to aggressive reactions. This sort of approach would reflect a sharper cognizance of the real-world requirements that clients must meet if they are to experience the enlarged happiness that is one of the major goals of counseling; and it would provide a more sensitive index of the altered adjustive efforts of the counselee.

The usual kinds of efficiency or job-performance indices require the same kind of critical attention to their utility as criteria of counseling effectiveness. While it is quite true, for example, that many clients tend to hop from major to major or from job to job, it is also true that many remain frozen in curricular or employment situations for which they are ill suited. Stability sometimes may represent responsibility, persistence, and a sensible orientation with respect to goals, whereas sometimes it may reflect only a fear of change or an unrealistic and defensive appraisal of one's own attributes. Again it would seem that any changes associated with counseling must be evaluated in the light of the judgments made by the client himself, and by those with whom he is closely related, to determine whether they have strengthened his overall psychological health.

What has been said so far applies particularly to those criteria taken from counseling protocols themselves—such measures as DRQ's, negative vs. positive references to the self and to others, and changes in the client's linguistic behavior. While these are promising indices, the crying need is for a clear-cut demonstration of their relationship to the client's extraclinical behavior and the way that behavior is evaluated by himself and his community. The great advantage of criteria derived from within the interview is economy, an asset of high value. But economy cannot be purchased at the price of validity, and validity in a very real sense cannot be said to exist until it has been rigorously demonstrated.

And this problem brings us to an additional point. Frequently, criteria are taken from within the interview on the basis of estimates of movement made by the counselor himself or by independent clinicians examining the protocols of the counseling sessions. If one permits himself the luxury of skepticism, one can't help feeling a deep mistrust of such a procedure. In the first place, there is the strong possibility that the protocol material being assessed contaminates the judgments of movement. In the second, counseling psychologists are ordinarily quite human and therefore subject to the distortions of judgment that occur when ratings are made under ego-involving circumstances. Interested in helping their clients, counselors may be a trifle prone to overestimate the amount of help rendered. In the third place, such judgments are restricted to the evidence contained in the interview itself. If adjustment is a real-world phenomenon, it cannot be adequately

assessed within the permissive and nurturant walls of a counseling center. Until we have gathered secure assurances that protocol material is definitely related to a known degree and in known ways to the client's extra-clinical activities, we are more than justified as researchers in questioning the utility of criteria taken from inside the interview.

In short, we must remember where the proof of the pudding lies. Investigations of counseling's effectiveness will bring proper returns only when they involve considerations of how the client deals with himself and his associates in the world beyond the clinic's doors. This extraclinical emphasis, stressing the psychological health values of the community, must ultimately be included in all our designs, and our preliminary efforts are likely to be much improved and to provide firmer stanchions on which other investigators can build if this ultimate consideration is not lost sight of.

SOME PROPOSALS FOR RESEARCH

In this paper some research proposals are presented against a background of theoretical orientations among present-day counseling psychologists. P. L. Dressel's summary of recent counseling research and E. J. Shoben, Jr.'s discussion of how criteria may be established in such studies provide a background for the remarks which follow.

Shoben's reference to our dubious wealth of theory as a foundation for coherent research activity brings us to a sharp realization of present inadequacies in this area. It would seem that we do not have anything like a respectable theory at the present time to guide either practice or research in coun-

seling. Some folks get irritated when this kind of remark is made. "Why we do so have theory—we have personality theory, perception theory, and lots of other theories that tie right into what we are doing." Still others are apt to take a dim view of the necessity for having any kind of theoretical orientation.

This is not the place to argue about theory. Whatever attitudes we have on the subject, we seem to be guided, willy nilly, by our differing theoretical approaches to counseling, which helps to account for observable variation in our research aims. To illustrate this point, some of the different

[From H. B. Pepinsky, "Research in Counseling: A Symposium—Some Proposals for Research," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 31 (1953): 291-294. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

approaches will be labeled and briefly described. Both the justification for theory and a more detailed critique of present approaches to it will be presented elsewhere.

The most hoary of these theoretical orientations to counseling might be called the *trait and factor-centered* approach. Here the psychology of individual differences has led to an emphasis upon differential diagnosis of the client's problem. Traditionally, a judgment is made as to whether a client has an "educational," "vocational," or "personal" difficulty, and comparisons of his performance (e.g., on measures of "aptitude," "ability," "achievement," "interest," "personality," etc.) are made before and after counseling to determine whether he is getting along better after counseling than before. In both cases, his performance is compared with that of other people who are said to comprise "norm groups."

The *self-centered* approach to counseling has been most highly publicized in recent years. This is a concern with an emerging, developing, perceiving, and knowing *self* which is said to organize and direct a client's activities. The researcher in this group has been concerned more with the extent to which a client achieves *self-actualization* and less with "external judgments" of whether he is performing the way he ought to be performing.

Another important orientation to counseling can be labeled the *social psychological* approach. This centers on the study of interaction between counselor and client. How much responsibility is the counselor taking? How much does he do as compared with the client? Does the counselor "interpret" or "lead" or does he "simply accept" a client's remarks? How does the client respond?

Still another important approach might be called *psychoanalytic*. Like the *self-centered* approach, it embraces both a theoretical orientation and a method. Its emphasis is upon personality dynamics, and it utilizes "depth interview" procedures to uncover "hidden motives."

Finally, in this much abbreviated review

of theoretical orientations to counseling, we may note the *neobehavioral* approach. This is based on the notion that current models for the explanation of human learning can be adapted to organize and account for the learning of clients. Hull's "stimulus-response-reinforcement" model and Tolman's "molar theory" are examples of these transplantings.

There are many examples of deviation and of overlap among approaches, but the biases are there. The fact is that we have different ideas about what we want counseling to do in the first place. Suppose we could agree that we wanted to find out through our research "what changes occur in a client as a result of counseling?" The *trait and factor-centered* counselor might want to know whether the client was better adjusted as determined by the appropriateness of his educational-vocational planning; the *self-centered* counselor might wish to find out whether the client had become more insightful, more accepting of himself; the *social psychological* counselor, to know whether the client could assume more responsibility for his problems in the interview; the *psychoanalytic* counselor, to determine whether the client had developed more ego-strength; and the *neobehaviorist*, to find out whether response acquisition of the client had occurred in line with the investigator's predictions.

A predicament? Yes, if we were to attempt in a single research program to answer all of the important questions about counseling. Not only would such a quest be complicated by the theoretical biases we have, but there are innumerable ways of setting up a design once the research objectives have been clarified.

Therefore, the question of what is the design will be side-stepped in favor of some general and—it is hoped—constructive proposals for future research in counseling.

There are some general problems of research design which we must face up to: e.g., defining our constructs, setting up our criteria, and isolating and controlling predictor variables. Our design possibilities

range from the individual case-study, as exemplified by Rogers' comprehensive and excellent analysis of "The Case of Mrs. Oak," to rigorous experimental control, as exemplified by Keet's nice study of "Two Verbal Techniques in a Miniature Counseling Situation." In between we have the empirical, essentially noncontrolled study of groups of cases, as exemplified by Peres' "Investigation of Nondirective Group Therapy," or the use of statistical control in the Dressel-Matteson research on "The Effect of Client Participation in Test Interpretation." This broad range of studies is mentioned not to cite one or the other as better but to illustrate the many possibilities open to us.

Whatever we do in research should be based on a careful definition and delineation of the problem as it has meaning for us. Sound research is a slow and painstaking process. An explicit statement of the research objective for a particular project is not easily made. Like other phases of the project, this may have to be reworked many times before the researcher can be satisfied with it. In setting up a research project considerable time should be allotted for this first step. How well the problem has been stated can be checked against succeeding steps in planning the research. Unless these follow clearly and necessarily from the problem statement, the project may not be well designed. Here, too, it is well to avoid rigid adherence to any "school" or "theory" of counseling in deciding what research will be done. "Theory" in the scientific sense of the term implies working from observations to conceptualizations, and the revising of conceptions in light of subsequent observations. Even if we were to be guided by a well-defined set of postulates and theorems in formulating our research objectives (which is unlikely in the field of counseling at the present time), we should have to keep in mind that these very foundations of theory building are subject to revision if new observations fail to confirm them. A good illustration is the changing conceptualiza-

tions of the Chicago Counseling Center group as new data have poured in.

Secondly, having been explicit in stating the problem, and—if we can—the rationale for it, we should be careful to limit ourselves to the statement of hypotheses that are *testable*, and to make our statements so *explicit* that the research operations follow directly and unequivocally from them. Too frequently, we say, in effect, "The hypothesis is that my counseling approach is better than anyone else's and whatever results I get you can be sure they will support my approach."

Thirdly, we ought to set up our design in such a way that it provides a relatively unambiguous test of our hypothesis. Here some of us might be old-fashioned: the notion of systematically controlling independent (predictor) variables to see what effect they have on dependent (criterion) variables might have a strong appeal. We might not all agree whole-heartedly with the conclusion that *statistical* control (e.g., through covariance methods), is a substitute for *experimental* control, in which the manipulation of dependent variables is a deliberate and predetermined part of a research design. We might agree, however, that comparison groups are necessary (despite the present difficulty in obtaining them) if predictions are to be tested. The Chicago Counseling Center research suggests novel ways of incorporating control groups into our designs.

Fourthly, we should do a compulsive job of planning our research: how the data will be collected, how they will be analyzed, and even how they will be interpreted. Lacking careful planning, we may be tempted to improvise as we go along. This can lead us far afield from our original hypotheses. Pilot studies are strongly recommended as an antidote to the wandering research objective. Finally, we would do well to exercise restraint in discussing our results and in generalizing from them. If we have decided in advance upon the criteria for ac-

cepting or rejecting the original hypotheses, the obtained results should be interpreted in the light of that prejudgment.

In summary, some of the conceptual biases among counseling psychologists were reviewed in order to account for the varied and seemingly conflicting research aims reported in current research publications. As a substitute for any single research project, which could appeal at most to a minority of research workers, a set of general proposals was recommended for the conducting of research.

These general guides to research activity can be adhered to regardless of the researcher's orientation. Variety in approaches to research is not only inescapable at the present time but healthy, for it helps us to avoid

premature commitment to research models and methods that will be found inadequate by future generations of workers. Nevertheless, we have a selfish responsibility to communicate to each other and to colleagues in related fields our research intentions and practices. Explicitly stated, testable hypotheses help to make possible effective communication, as do explicit statements about experimental procedure, rigorous treatment of data, and cautious generalization of results. We are free to dream, to be inventive in our research designs, but we ought to become more tough-minded about our accomplishments. We ought to learn, from our ruminations and our data-scrounging, how to ask more answerable questions about counseling and what it does.

In the following article by Shoben a much more complete analysis of the function of theorizing and theory in counseling is given. In the first part of the article he describes the use of theoretical constructs and he also develops the concepts of "ends" theories and "means" theories—theories of value as compared to theories involving "scientific research." Finally, he directs his attention to two basic types of research patterns: empirical and experimental. The reader should consider carefully these two basic frames of reference with the purpose of determining their applicability to the public school situation.

NEW FRONTIERS IN THEORY

Student personnel work, along with the behavioral sciences generally, faces a sizable

challenge. Encouraged to attack human problems of great complexity and import

[From E. J. Shoben, Jr., "New Frontiers in Theory," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 32 (1953): 80-83. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

under conditions of real responsibility, the profession requires more knowledge than is actually available if it is to function most effectively. There is a basic need for general principles and relevant information if student personnel workers are to cope properly with their tasks, and the problem of general and usable information leads inevitably to the problem of theory, which after all is simply a matter of generalized knowledge which points the way to new discovery and to tenable hypotheses for practice.

The figure of new frontiers is admirably suited to a consideration of theory, for theories are, after all, maps of territories to be explored. A theory is useful to the extent that it helps one to explore the phenomenal world, to move from a particular starting point to some terminus of one's own selection. At this point, three observations seem basic.

First, like all symbolic devices including maps, theories are abstractions. They do not show all the features of the terrains they represent but just the general and most significant contours. Thus, theories always contain margins of error but—one hopes—margins of error less than would be the case if explorations were undertaken without such theoretical aids.

Second, theories, like maps, are generally most useful only when they have been tested in some degree by controlled experience. Just as a map of Camelot or Eden can be satisfying esthetically and can even be taken by the needful as a demonstration that such places once existed, so theories can be devised that are things of proper beauty and offer solace to the personnel worker who is chivvied by the twentieth century's sad ignorance of human affairs. But such theories are not useful to men in their attempts to understand the structure of the world and to deal with it effectively. Theories must in a general way enable one to predict observations, and until they have been shown to have this predictive characteristic, they are not genuinely helpful.

Finally, theories are of many kinds and it

is important to be explicit in one's thinking about what kinds of theory are being considered when one examines maps or tries to draw them for some human use. In student personnel work, it may be important, for example, to distinguish between *ends* theories and *means* theories. The first of these types may be broadly called philosophical theories or theories of value. They help to determine where one wants to go, what goals one wants to pursue, what ideals one sets for himself. The second type of theory is scientific rather than philosophical and helps to determine how one's goal can be achieved, what routes one may take to reach one's objectives, what must be done to attain one's ideals.

Certainly, student personnel workers like most people, in fact, willy-nilly use both kinds of theories, sometimes articulately, sometimes only implicitly. If one's diverse interests are to be satisfied and one's professional life productive, it seems necessary that one's philosophical and scientific theories be integrated. But integration is quite different from confusion, and the insistent and heavy service demands under the pressure of which student personnel work has come of age have hardly been conducive to the reflection and more leisurely paced hard work by which confusion is avoided and integration achieved. While this state of affairs is understandable, it raises the question of whether this lack of opportunity for developing theoretic precision is not a handicap both in terms of reducing the effectiveness of the services which is the main business of student personnel workers to provide and in terms failing to yield a generalized body of principles upon which future generations may build.

One way to cope with this question and to suggest a direction that the profession might profitably take is to consider a particular conception of student personnel work. This conception holds that the field is committed to the development of responsible individuals capable of maintaining and advancing a democratic society. Its methods involve the utilization of inter-personal re-

lationships and inter-personal communication in virtually any way that significantly illustrates and promotes the dual commitment to the worth of the individual and the furtherance of democracy. The commitment represents a proposition in what has here been called *ends* theory, a philosophically based statement of the high values we place upon people and upon a special way of group and societal life. It asserts the desirability of individuality and democracy as ideals, as ends to be striven for. The methods, on the other hand represent propositions in *means* theory or science. The choice of any technique in student personnel work—modification of the administrative structures of an institution, the carrying on of individual or group counseling, the development of co-curricular activities and social programs, the instituting and supporting of student governments—implies the assertion that the use of such means will lead to outcomes in harmony with our philosophically selected goals. Thus, student personnel work constitutes a field which potentially satisfies both the needs of the citizen-educator who recognizes that in science he can find the most reliable guides to effective action consonant with democratic purposes and the needs of the social scientist who wants his work to be of maximal social utility as well as of intellectual significance. This conception of student personnel work at once illustrates one of its grave problems. Too great a concentration of ends theory, to a clarification of ideals, leads to a position of being unable to do little besides cut and try in one's efforts to attain those ideals. There are no guides to action but the sheerest empiricism in particular cases; there are no generalized maps of the relevant areas in the human territory. On the other hand, too great a concentration of means theory would leave one without direction, without knowledge of how one's knowledge should be applied. The atomic scientists are currently in this latter position. As scientists, they have teased an appalling genie from the bottle of nature. As citizens, they share with others

the oppressive and anxiety-arousing burden of controlling it, of harnessing its power constructively before it destroys whole populations. The grave difficulty here is with respect to goals and objects; and while the weight of responsibility for clear thinking on this score sits no more heavily on physicists than on other members of the human community, the central point remains that an emphasis on means theory has had a fevishly worrisome result in a world unprepared for it by an adequate ends theory.

In student personnel work, however, the situation seems reversed. A good job has been done to date in defining professional ideals. It is a job that is never ending, and an ongoing concern with the clarification of what democratic living and individual worth means in the constantly changing, evolving community of men cannot be safely neglected. But clarity about ideals and good heartedness are not enough. There is a powerful need for new and generalized knowledge as to how these goals may be attained. If the professional field is to be advanced and professional services made more efficient, jobs in student personnel work must first be defined in terms of the citizen-educator and then, with equal emphasis, in terms of the social scientist, interested in new knowledge and its systematization and generalization.

This point of view underscores the research function as an integral and essential part of the student personnel worker's operation, a position fully in accord, incidentally, with that taken by the American Council on Education. Only through research, the empirical and rigorous testing of one's ideas, can one achieve a generalized body of useful knowledge to apply toward the achievement of the democratic aims of student personnel work. But this contention does not mean that student personnel workers are by any means isolated from other social scientists. Actually, they are in a splendid position to borrow from psychologists, sociologists, and economists and to repay them with problems and hypotheses drawn

from an intimate first-hand familiarity with the behavior of children and young adults and with the structure of educational institutions. Often, the application of the general findings of other social scientists will require further research to establish the exact conditions of relevance peculiar to one's own locale, but this situation is hardly different from that of the physicist, who must determine a number of factors before he can apply the law of gravitation at any particular spot on the earth's surface. This problem of establishing the correct *empirical constants* has been ingeniously treated by Hull in his discussion of the application of general psychological laws to differing species and to differing individuals.

There is time to characterize only briefly two basic types of research patterns. The first may be called *empirical* and consists primarily in doing something and in keeping a record of what is done and what happens, of accumulating experience in day to day work. Clinical medicine is perhaps an illustration *par excellence* of a profession that has grown through this way of evaluating general propositions from empirical inquiry. Implicitly, most of us have developed our own crude sets of working principles from this kind of empirical evidence although we have seldom paid systematic attention to record keeping of a comprehensive sort.

While this kind of investigative procedure can generate useful general principles it has a number of inherent weaknesses. Usually conclusions must be drawn exclusively from experience with a highly restricted group or from many groups differing in unknown and uncontrolled ways. Yet there are real disadvantages to having the same person function as investigator and service worker at the same time. For instance, a busy counselor seldom has sufficient time to record his observations or even to set up an explicit hypothesis to guide him in deciding what observations are relevant. On the other hand, if record keeping is at all adequate, so much material is collected that it would require actually superhuman efforts to an-

alyze it properly. A stack of 100 electrically recorded counseling interviews is a formidable thing indeed if one does not know what to choose as significant from the welter of data. Finally, any service worker who takes his job seriously is probably ego-involved in the outcomes of his endeavors to be scrupulously objective in evaluating his own procedures. After all, the student personnel people and other social scientists are human, and one of the things that seems best established about the student genus *homo sapiens* is that when important things are at stake, ignorance and ambiguity are so hard to tolerate that they tend to construct explanations or "knowledge" that permit them "to feel better" even though they may not accord with the facts. [1] Thus, the empirical research mode while useful in generating generalized knowledge if used with caution, has its pitfalls and serious limitations.

The second type of research might be called *experimental* and consists in the testing in experience of some systematic theoretical proposition or of the relative effectiveness of two techniques with consequent theoretical implications.

An example taken essentially from Chein, Cook, and Harding may illustrate what is meant here. The general hypothesis is that the perception of ethnic differences when associated with rewarding experiences tends to lessen prejudice. One of several ways to translate this general theoretical proposition into operational terms is to hypothesize that if group leaders call attention to the ethnic affiliations of members of a mixed ethnic group when they are having pleasant experiences together, then pre- and post-testing will show decrements in prejudicial attitudes and increments in the tendency to regard liked individuals as representative of their racial groups rather than as exceptions to them.

The design simply involves the formation of two matched sets of six groups each. In one set, group leaders are instructed to call attention as often as possible to the mixed

ethnic composition of the groups when the youngsters are enjoying themselves together, whereas the group leaders in the other set are instructed to avoid all mention of the multiracial character of the groups. Measurements include detailed group process records and records of individual behavior disguised picture tests of Negro-white attitudes given at the beginning and at the end of the experiment, a behavioral test of such attitudes repeated through the experiment on several occasions, and a series of structured interviews.

The results ultimately confirmed the hypothesis and thus yield some general principles, a generalized map, as well as a technique for furthering democratic ends in intergroup relations. The central point for the moment, however, is that this type of enterprise represents not only a practical mode of attack on a particular important problem, but a generalization of knowledge, an extension of well-tested theory, that permits coping with many problems with more effective tools than crude experience and good will. It should also be noted that this experiment illustrates the application to guidance and

student personnel work of some notions in the association theory of learning, perception, and emotion in general psychology.

As a final word, this plea for serious attention to the construction of a relevant and tested body of theory in student personnel work carries a peripheral but worthwhile promise of collateral rewards as well as central ones. It seems highly probable that a sophisticated concern for the systematization of knowledge in the social sciences on the part of student personnel workers will enable them to promote their service programs more effectively with the academic personnel of educational institutions and to establish more effective relationships with faculties that will issue finally in improved conditions for students.

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PART FOUR

Vocational, Group, and Community Services



XI. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

XII. GROUP GUIDANCE

XIII. USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES

PART FOUR is directed toward consideration of vocational guidance and counseling (Chapter XI), group guidance activities (Chapter XII), and the utilization of community resources (Chapter XIII).

A basic assumption underlying guidance services is that one of the dominant needs of youth is to become vocationally and occupationally oriented. Many changes in society have further increased the need for improved vocational guidance and counseling. The number of occupations from which a student must select has become staggering. The mortality rate of occupations and vocations in this era of rapid technological development is also substantial. In recent years this extension of vocational alternatives has been reflected in a high school curriculum that has a greatly expanded course offering. It would be folly to assume that youngsters can make sound choices from the myriad of alternatives available without systematic assistance, both in the classroom and through organized vocational guidance activity.

Indeed, many students are being graduated from high school, ready to enter the vocational world, without having developed an adequate understanding of the occupational structure and their place in it. They are unable to relate themselves to occupations in terms of their abilities, limitations, aptitudes, and interests. In many cases they have very little understanding of the requirements necessary for entrance into, and participation in, a specific occupation. Such inadequacies of information and understanding become the basis for erratic and unrealistic decision making on the part of youth. To remedy this situation vocational guidance must necessarily receive increasing importance in future years—emphasis that is consistent with the tremendous rate of social and technological change that exists in our society. In the following chapter vocational guidance is considered in terms of its historical development and as an antecedent condition from which modern guidance has developed, as well as from the standpoint of its importance in guidance currently.

Group guidance methods used with skill and some degree of caution can be of great usefulness in assisting the child to develop his potential and to resolve his problems of adjustment. These methods should be considered in terms of their potentialities and limitations, and their relationship to individual counseling. In the section on group methods, specific techniques will be described and discussed. Particular attention will be paid to sociodrama, which has been the recipient of much current interest. The reader should be careful to draw a distinction between group guidance and group psychotherapy. One important basis upon which this distinction can be drawn is the level of competence required by professional workers who engage in group

psychotherapy compared to the type of competence required for carrying out group guidance activity. The reader should also attempt to develop other criteria differentiating group psychotherapy from group guidance.

Community forces have the potential for creating, building, and effecting important changes in existing institutions. It is the change in social attitude toward education that gave rise to the guidance movement. In essence, guidance was developed as an answer to "mass education" in American public high schools. The importance of the community role in guidance is being increasingly realized by personnel workers. They are beginning to extend serious effort toward the task of coordinating community agencies with the work of the schools in general, and guidance services specifically.

In the section on community resources, the child guidance clinic has been selected as the basic vehicle for illustrating the use of community resources. The child guidance clinic demonstrates clearly the interrelatedness of the various agencies and individuals who are interested in working with, and meeting the needs of, children. It illustrates, also, effective use of the team approach—an approach in which psychiatrists, psychologists, counselors, social workers, and other professional persons attempt to coordinate their efforts in maximizing the assistance that they can give to children and parents.

Unfortunately, development of child guidance clinics and related social agencies has been completely insufficient to meet the demand for the types of services that are offered in such agencies. The long waiting list of referrals is part of almost every child guidance clinic's *modus operandi*. It is to be hoped that provisions will be made for the expansion and development of such agencies as the public becomes aware of the great benefit that can accrue to children and parents who have access to them.

• XI •

Vocational Guidance

28. BASIC CONCEPTS IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

29. OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION

30. PLACEMENT

THE vocational guidance movement is one of the antecedent movements from which guidance, as it exists today, has developed. A necessary part of understanding guidance is to place the vocational aspect in proper perspective.

The need for vocational guidance is easily demonstrated by various types of evidence. The follow-up and interview studies conducted in many parts of the country attest to the fact that the graduate of the public school feels the need of more systematic consideration of vocational opportunities while in school. Particularly related to this are the social-anthropological studies of the late thirties in which the school received severe criticism from former students because of its inability to provide them with a proper vocational orientation or training. Much of this criticism must be considered in the context of the times; for example, in many cases the fact that students were unable to obtain employment was far less a function of the type of vocational guidance they had received than the fact that jobs were simply unavailable. However, these criticisms have been repeated subsequently by different populations—and in a postwar economy with its high level of employment. Consequently some validity must be attributed to them.

A second source of data which indicate the inadequacy of vocational guidance results from surveys dealing with the vocational choices and aspirations of students.

tions of youth. Independent surveys indicate all too often that there is a discrepancy between stated vocational preference and ability on the one hand and available opportunity on the other.

It is up to the school to bear some responsibility for its role in setting up in the student's mind a hierarchy of values with respect to occupations. Unfortunately many occupations which will employ a large number of people seem to be at the bottom of the prestige hierarchy in terms of frequency of vocational choice made by students. The school has a definite responsibility to do its part in assisting youth to develop realistic value conceptions.

What are the implications for teachers? At least one implication is that each staff member should critically evaluate his own value orientation with respect to the prestige placed upon occupations, and that he should be aware of the fact that his own orientation together with that of other staff members will serve as a partial basis upon which students will make later decisions. The elementary school has the responsibility of continuing its efforts to assist the child to develop an attitude toward occupations on the basis of the social worth of the occupation, not with respect to its nearness to the constellation of intellectual elements involved.

28. BASIC CONCEPTS IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Hobbs' article attempts to point out the social implications of guidance as a key service involved in the distribution of human resources. The guidance service more than any other single service has been delegated the responsibility of assisting youth to determine its vocational objectives and aspirations. This involves a tremendous social responsibility in which some balance between individual and social needs must be an ultimate objective.

In the second selection Walton addresses himself to the philosophical assumptions underlying vocational guidance—its scope, functions, and role in our modern society.

The reader might give particular attention to the basic assumptions underlying vocational guidance and relate them to the social implications of guidance as suggested by Hobbs. Since the guidance worker will be involved in decisions that will have far-reaching social and ethical implications, a clear-cut understanding of his own role should always be foremost in his mind.

SOME NOTES ON SCIENCE AND GUIDANCE

The equation for a human choice is a complex one. In the major decisions of life—such as choosing a vocation—many variables are involved. These variables are the product of the individual's past experience, of his projected future, and of the current situation as seen at the moment of decision making. These many variables all have different weights in the equation, and, to make the problem even more complicated, the weights change with time and with each other.

If we could write the equation for a difficult choice, which of course we can't, it is doubtful that it could be solved by even that master "electronic brain," ENIAC. Such problems are solved, however, by the human brain time after time in an individual's life. Broadly conceived, guidance is a process of helping the individual identify the variables that are relevant to his problem, and to arrive at the best weights for each of these variables in the equation of choice.

Though human choices are complicated, we have a penchant for making them appear simple. Above all, we want our choices to appear rational. After struggling with a decision for many months, during which time hundreds of factors, both obvious and subtle, operate in the shaping of the final commitment, we make the choice, and having made it we look back on our action and pick out several reasons that will appear most logical to an enquirer who wants to know why we chose as we did. We then give him our *post hoc* reasons, usually three of them, since to give only two would make us appear either lazy or brash and to give more than three would make us appear either compulsive or distrustful of our decision. Thus guidance is concerned not only with such obvious variables as aptitudes, interests, and job opportunities but also with myriad

subtle inclinations, likes and dislikes, apprehensions, and aspirations.

In a sense, good guidance is not *guidance* at all. It is something different. It is a procedure for supplying needed information to an individual. It is also a procedure for supplying the individual with a climate favorable to decision making, in which he feels free to examine himself, to ferret out his strengths and weaknesses, to assess what facts are available, find verbal labels for inchoate feelings, and to arrive at decisions that are his own. The point of departure for guidance, then, is the individual's own private world. The individual must be his own steersman, and he who would offer "guidance" must not attempt to guide at all.

But guidance is an honorific word. People believe in it. It is a Good Thing. Consequently, one finds the term popping up in unexpected places, to serve purposes not at all in harmony with the intent of the term. For instance, one occasionally hears such expressions as "guidance into science," or "guidance into the ministry." Now science and the ministry are certainly worthy activities for people to go into, but only when the motivation for so doing grows from the needs and aspirations of the individual rather than from the ambitions of a profession. Promotion of a profession is a legitimate activity, but it should not be labeled guidance.

There is today in the sciences a crippling shortage of trained people. We are beginning to reach the point in our technical society where limits to further expansion will be imposed not by ideas or material resources but by lack of trained personnel to carry out new projects and keep established projects in operation. Our human resources are as limited

[From Nicholas Hobbs, "Some Notes on Science and Guidance," *Education*, 73 (1953): 434-436. Reprinted by permission of *Education*.]

as our "natural" resources. There is only so much intelligence in our country, as there is only so much coal and oil. We are not yet making use of all of our human resources, as evidenced by the fact that twenty percent of the people who never finish college are as intelligent as those who complete college with creditable records. A major problem of our society is how to ensure the fullest development of the human talent that comes with each new generation. Clearly we must find ways of identifying, at an early age, children who have basic abilities necessary for achievement in the sciences and related technical fields, and to make available to them, without regard to their socioeconomic status or their race or religion, opportunities to obtain education commensurate with their ability to profit from it.

This is not the whole picture. Extrapolating on present trends, it is conceivable that our society will reach the point where science and technology could employ every citizen who has sufficient intelligence to obtain training to work in one of the technical fields. But a society needs more than scientists. If it is going to be a society worth living in, it must have its philosophers, poets, novelists, musicians, artists, and teachers of children to name only a few of the occupations that are vital to our well-being and that are rightful claimants to the talent in each generation. For a while it appeared that the atomic scientists were going to double in brass and serve as social philosophers, helping us clarify our common objectives and understand the awesome instrument available for productive endeavor as well as for the annihilation of others and ourselves. But apparently they became discouraged by the burdens of social leadership and turned to find sanctuary in their laboratories.

From the standpoint of the needs of our society, we must hope that a balance will be struck in the utilization of intelligence and talent, that our creative energies be invested not alone in technical pursuits, but also in philosophical endeavor, by which values are established, and in artistic endeavor through

which the spirit of a people is enriched.

A basic value, rooted deeply in the traditions of our society, is the concept of individual freedom and responsibility. Fundamentally, we are more heavily committed to a free society than we are to a technically advanced society. There is evidence in plenty that technical achievements are possible even in societies that have little concern for the individual. Conceivably, we might increase considerably our reservoir of scientific talent by rigging our educational system to channel most of the bright students in the direction of scientific and technical studies, and by promotional campaigns directed toward getting every person with scientific aptitude in the sciences. On the surface, this might appear desirable, particularly to people who are themselves interested in the development of science. But underneath, this would be a hollow achievement. To preserve the basic values of our society, we must keep the individual central, and, except in times of emergency, have the needs of society served as individuals are themselves prompted to serve. We must have room in our system for the person with high promise in science who decides he wants to be a concert pianist, and for the person with great leadership potential who prefers to work alone in a laboratory.

We cannot have guidance that is committed ahead of time to particular directions for individuals. Directions must spring from within, and each individual must find his own best directions. People interested in providing guidance can do two things: they can make sure that the young person has an opportunity to know his capabilities and to become familiar with the various life pursuits in which he may find satisfaction, and they can provide for him an opportunity to talk with an understanding person who believes in the capacity of the individual to make good choices. With such provisions, the young person is likely to find the right variables, the right weights, and the best solution for his own personal equation of choice.

THE SCOPE AND FUNCTION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Some fifty years ago Frank Parsons, Meyer Bloomfield, and others laid the foundations for vocational guidance in this country. So well did these men visualize the need, the form and the function of their creation, that the succeeding half century has seen little change in the terminology, philosophy, or essential elements of their program. However, the march of events and the crucial nature of our times lend new importance to the theme and call for clarification of the scope and function of the movement. To such a purpose this paper is dedicated.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

The seed planted half a century ago has received considerable nourishment. The testing movement furnished not only a great variety of instruments for measuring traits such as personality, interests, aptitudes, and achievements—so vital to the self-analysis needed in vocational guidance—but it likewise produced the statistical techniques for analysis and prediction—the sine qua non in bridging the gap between the individual and an intelligent vocational objective. In like manner, the social service and mental hygiene movements contributed much to the philosophy and techniques applicable to vocational counseling. While tools and techniques were being developed, men like Eli Weaver, Jesse Davis, and Harry Kitson were setting up programs in our metropolitan areas and providing leadership through a national organization, the NVGA. Moving into educational, industrial, and business areas under the name of personnel work, vocational guidance finally received a tremendous boost from nationwide manpower studies and the advisement centers established by

the Veterans Administration for the benefit of U. S. veterans of the last two wars. Today, vocational guidance has thrown off its swaddling clothes. The development of occupational sociology along with industrial and occupational psychology, not to mention other specialties, reveals the extent to which economics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and education have been utilized in enabling the movement to reach adolescence.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND ASSUMPTIONS BEHIND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

The theory behind vocational guidance is consonant with our democratic philosophy of education. Unlike the totalitarian notion, we deliberately search out and develop the natural differences in individuals in the belief that the nation is strengthened through diversity of interests and talents. While we feel that a certain degree of commonality is needed, our emphasis is upon differing contributions to the social good. To us, the maximum level of our development can best be achieved through encouraging differences and freeing each individual to develop his unique potentialities. Such a concept gives to the individual a dignity and worth which is denied him by totalitarian doctrine and practice. Thus, in a democracy social welfare starts with and is predicated upon the sacred rights of the individual.

As applied to vocational guidance, this democratic philosophy encompasses several assumptions:

1. *Individual differences relevant to vocational selection are both necessary and desirable.* The great diversity of backgrounds, personalities, interests, and aptitudes not only makes for cultural progress but also

produces the highly efficient economic system needed for constantly increased living standards and for adequate national security.

2. *There is a place for every person in the vocational structure of our nation.* The connection between this and the first assumption is obvious, for if individual differences are to play a purposeful role in our society, the contribution of no one person can be overlooked. Everyone has a part to play and needs to play that part to best advantage. Not that one is born with an ability pattern so specialized as to fit him for one particular occupation only, for such is not the case. The thesis stated by Jones years ago to the effect that for most individuals native endowment is such as to permit one to succeed equally well in any one of several related occupations, is accepted by most guidance workers today.

3. *The selection of one's lifetime vocation is important to the individual as well as to society.* The logic of the theory behind democratic society not only stresses the role and the dignity of the individual, but it likewise makes extremely important the need of the intelligent selection of that role. If society is to reap the maximum benefit of individual contributions, the selection of such contributions cannot be left to chance. Fortunately, vocational guidance workers are aided in their job of seeing that vocational choices are intelligent. The average adolescent, given the right amount and kind of stimulation, is interested in his vocational future. The subject of a lifetime job is important to him. It is important in the sense of his being emotionally involved, hence motivated personally, and we feel it is important to him in the sense that, whether or not he may realize it at the start, it is necessary to his well-being. The findings of psychology are most revealing in this respect.

4. *The selection of a vocation is allied to, and influenced by, the maturation process.* Choosing one's life work is not a chronological act. It cannot safely be considered an overnight decision, nor yet something which is to be consummated at some spe-

cific time such as upon graduation from high school, during the ninth grade, when leaving school, or upon reaching voting age. Selecting a vocational goal is a threefold process. It involves (1) insightful self-appraisal, (2) occupational information (including knowledge of employment opportunities), and (3) the linking of the person with the job. This procedural triad requires time. The person "develops into" the decision, possibly through stages from fantasy at one end to logical analysis at the other. The choice is a type of maturation which symptomatically is associated with a pattern of conditions in no less a real sense than is physical maturation. Thus, vocational guidance cannot be limited to occupations classes and counseling during the twelfth school year.

5. *Help in the nature of vocational guidance is needed by our youth.* The task which youth faces of choosing, preparing for, and entering into a vocation is not an easy one. There are thousands of occupations from which to choose. Our vocational structure is a complex and fast-changing one. Time-honored processes, methods, and jobs are discarded almost overnight in favor of new inventions, theories, and practices. The problem is further complicated by requirements of military service and the completion of ever-increasing proportions of older folks in our population. Without the aid of persons possessing the knowledge and techniques involved in the threefold process of vocational selection mentioned in assumption 4, youth today is in extreme difficulty and our democratic society in real danger.

6. *Special training is needed if the vocational help is to be effective.* The help which youth needs and which it has a right to expect of us is not something which just any adult can give. The extreme specialization of our economic system and the dynamic nature of its structure do not permit one to rely on his own experience in giving youth vocational counsel. There is much to learn in the way of both information and techniques, so much in fact that the name *occupationology* already is being applied to the

new subject area. The training of vocational guidance personnel is indeed a matter deserving our serious attention today.

THE MEANING AND SCOPE OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

To the professional worker, the definition of vocational guidance first given by Frank Parsons nearly 50 years ago still stands. At that time he wrote that

The Vocation Bureau is intended to aid young people *in choosing an occupation, preparing themselves for it, finding an opening in it, and building up a career of efficiency and success.* [1] [Italics mine.]

In his first and only report, May 1, 1908, to the Executive Committee and Trustees of the Vocation Bureau, Parsons used the term *vocational guidance* to denote the aid given as described in the above quotation.

To the layman, however, vocational guidance has meant many different and often erroneous ideas. Some years ago it was confused with phrenology, graphology, or some other pseudo-science. Today, the public is prone to think of it as a process wherein the expert gives a person a test, and then tells him what job he is fitted for. In their search for formulae or for short-cuts to success, the uninitiated surround the words *vocational guidance* with a halo of mystery and magic which they accept with a naive gullibility not too different from their faith in astrology and mind reading.

It is indeed difficult to avoid the temptation to exploit the naive faith with which people approach this subject. And yet, to promulgate a misconception is, in the end, to destroy the movement itself. Enough damage has been done already by the fraudulent claims of charlatans. Both the National Vocational Guidance Association and the American Psychological Association have recognized this as a serious problem. Care must be taken, therefore, to represent

vocational guidance as the thing it is—not a panacea for anything, but a science with a potential for improving living. The process of helping a person match his personal attributes and his background with suitable jobs and employment opportunities is not magic. It is not an occult mystery. It will not make one rich overnight or guarantee him top position in the firm's economic hierarchy. Its batting average, to change the metaphor, is never 1.000, for its success is dependent upon the parties concerned in the use of its tools and processes.

However, in the hands of competently trained men, vocational guidance has much to offer. Its success, which in the final analysis must be measured in terms of human welfare and personal satisfactions, is bound to increase with the advancement of knowledge and skills in the analysis of the individual. Its program reaches down into the primary grades where little tots "share" their experiences with the postman or policeman, and it functions within the new science of gerontology to help the aged adjust to a new life—that of retirement. It functions as well for the victim of technological unemployment as it does for the young man completing his education and facing for the first time the world of work.

The meaning and scope of vocational guidance may be understood better, perhaps, by a consideration of the general activities which comprise it:

1. *Analysis of the individual.* Vocational guidance, as applied to normal persons, is predicated upon an analysis of the individual toward whom it is directed. Without extensive knowledge about himself, the individual will find it impossible to effect the matching which vocational guidance involves. Self-appraisal, therefore, is a necessity. The analysis involves such things as home background, school progress, work experience, personality, health, interests, aptitudes, and achievement. For this purpose there are many instruments and procedures in use. Some of the best known are questionnaires, autobiographies, rating scales,

behavior descriptions, anecdotal records, home visit reports, personality "tests," interest inventories, aptitude tests, and IQ and achievement tests. Often such information is recorded in cumulative records or obtained through interviews or case studies. The job of interpreting such a variety of information, of synthesizing it, and of putting it into such form as to permit it to function most effectively, demands a competence which only special education can give.

2. *Occupational information.* The data derived from analysis of the individual provide the broad outlines of the blueprint for the occupational search. The information needed to enable the search to produce an intelligent matching of men with jobs includes knowledge of the occupational, industrial, and labor structure of this country, classifications of occupations, occupational requirements, entrance procedures, occupational distribution, training opportunities, and employment outlook. It is obvious that anyone wishing to give vocational guidance to another must know how to locate, interpret, file, and explain a great variety of data from occupational literature, the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, occupational monographs, briefs, abstracts, and numerous government publications. Such a competence is not easily acquired.

3. *Community occupational surveys and follow-up studies.* Since in most cases the majority of workers find employment in their immediate environment, it becomes necessary to modify and to supplement the national occupational picture with information focused upon local conditions. Community occupational surveys and follow-up studies of school leavers provide data on local training and employment conditions, labor turnover, and job opportunities. These general activities of vocational guidance often are neglected. If there is much information to be collected, community organization is needed under a sponsor. The techniques involved, therefore, must include handling public relations in a cooperative community enterprise. To do this a voca-

tional guidance worker must be properly prepared.

4. *Group activities.* Much of the work of self-appraisal and occupational study is handled most efficiently through the group approach. Quite frequently the school sets up a class in occupations or occupational civics wherein these two activities are carried on under the supervision of a teacher, usually one certificated in social studies. Unfortunately, however, the teacher far too frequently has never had any education in this field. Because of this fact, self-appraisal is either omitted or given only a superficial attention and the occupational information is "taught" like English, algebra, science, or any other subject in the curriculum. Optimum results in terms of the objectives of vocational group guidance cannot be attained by the usual academic classroom teaching techniques. Group activities in vocational guidance stress such goals as an appreciation of the worth of all types of honest labor and of the interdependence of the nation's workers. They stress the methodology of vocational selection, preparation, job getting, and advancement. They provide occupational motivation and information through field trips, career conferences, occupational information workshops, audio-visual aids, sociodrama, and a host of other instruments or activities.

Apart from the acquisition of occupational information, both general and special, group activities provide an excellent opportunity to develop much-needed concepts and attitudes respecting the individual's work philosophy, reactions to parental pressures, armed services' plans, pulp magazine job advertisements, self-acceptance, and training problems.

Through the group approach, each individual gets practice in taking inventory of himself, in studying the world of work and in bringing the two together in terms of intelligent job selection. Often this group activity points up the need for individual counseling, and numerous referrals are made to the specialist in that area.

need to see vocational guidance as a logical, practical core around which to integrate activities pointed toward the major objectives of education.

The third important role played by vocational guidance today has to do with providing individual security. To the maturing youth, security is no less a matter of concern than it is to older folks. No one expects absolute security, but everyone strives to place himself in an advantageous position in the future. A well-planned, carefully-chosen vocation suited to one's personality, interest, and abilities constitutes an important factor in meeting this universal need. To the extent to which vocational guidance can aid the individual in this important enterprise, to that extent does it strengthen the individual and in doing so strengthen society. In summary, therefore, vocational guidance functions to add security to the nation, to the schools, and to the individual.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS AND THE PUBLIC

A few implications would seem to the writer to be appropriate in bringing this paper to a close:

1. For the school administrator, there is need to develop a real understanding of the philosophy behind, and the basic assumptions governing, vocational guidance. Without this understanding there can be no intel-

ligent and effective organization, administration, and evaluation of the vocational guidance program.

2. For the coordinator of the guidance program, there is need for an appreciation of the role which vocational guidance must play in the total program and an understanding of the activities needed to enable vocational guidance to play that role most effectively.

3. For the teacher and other personnel involved in vocational guidance activities, there is need for a clear understanding of each person's function and an accompanying need for establishing the competency required for the proper handling of this function if vocational guidance is to succeed.

4. For the public, there is need for an appreciation built upon a clear understanding of the role of vocational guidance in aiding our society, the public school system, and the individual. The job of providing the public with this understanding is one requiring the cooperation of vocational guidance workers on all levels.

REFERENCES

1. John Brewer. *History of Vocational Guidance*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1942, p. 61.
2. Herbert Sanderson. *Basic Concepts in Vocational Guidance*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954, Chapter 1.

Vocational guidance as conceived by Parsons over half a century ago provided the basis for guidance in its modern form but it was hampered by limitations of techniques and became "arrested at the level of occupational information." Patterson, basing his comment on Parson's book, states:

. . . vocational guidance should provide for a scientific analysis of the individual as a basis for vocational choice. The guidance counselor then

presents the individual with needed knowledge of occupations so that an intelligent choice of life work can be made. The formula is simple, man analysis on the one hand, job analysis on the other, and the bringing of the two together in the interest of an intelligent choice.¹

As Patterson continues to point out, such a concept in itself provides a partial basis for the development of guidance as we know it today. Nonetheless, because of the low level of development of "man-analysis" techniques and the emphasis on "job analysis," guidance services were not the result of a continual, direct development from the early inceptions of vocational guidance. Emphasis on job analysis has resulted in a great deal of information about the world of work: "a steady stream of occupational pamphlets, books, and an occasional monograph"; but it has also resulted in an avoidance of the "man-analysis" phase of the modern guidance movement. The other half of the equation had to await the tools and techniques that were developed by the measurement movement.

It may be, as Clarence Failor intimates, that the pendulum has swung to the other extreme. Many counselors, because of inadequacies in vocational guidance competence or a philosophical orientation that precludes emphasizing vocation, simply relegate job analysis to a level of unimportance and consequently give it no attention or effort, preferring to concentrate on what they like to think of as "personality counseling."

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Shortages of manpower, actual and alleged, dramatize the social need for more effective programs of vocational guidance services. For only as a result of these services will these needs be met by democratic means.

These manpower shortages are in themselves, of course, a sufficient reason for providing vocational guidance services and recognition of these needs reinforce and support those who for some decades now have been attempting to develop such services. It is well to recognize, however, that the needs of society for manpower are not the sole

and perhaps the most important rationale for vocational guidance. The needs and desires of individuals for fuller and more satisfying occupational experiences are perhaps more important in our democratic society.

However, in spite of the situation which confronts us, and giving full credit for progress made, the national picture is that adequate and effective vocational services are not being provided by schools and other social agencies. Why is this so? What are the barriers encountered by those who pro-

[From C. W. Failor, "Current Problems in Vocational Guidance," *Education Outlook*, 31 (1957): 129-135. Reprinted by permission of *Education Outlook*.]

¹ D. G. Patterson, "The Genesis of Modern Guidance," *Educational Record* 19 (1938), pp. 36-46.

pose and attempt to provide vocational guidance services?

In this article an attempt will be made to explore some of the reasons which seem to the writer to be the major barriers that we encounter. The purpose is to analyze the situation as he sees it. No attempt is made to review the literature of opinion and research. These observations are based on knowledge of school programs of vocational guidance in many areas of the country over a period of years and on what has been learned from colleagues and graduate students who represent these and other sections of the country.

Analysis of the barriers or stumbling blocks reveal them to be very complex. They cannot be categorized in mutually exclusive terms because most, if not all, of them bear one upon others. Some of these interrelationships and influences will be discussed. Others remain more obscure, or space limitations forbid analysis here.

A reasonably good classification of the problems which will be discussed are:

- (1) Misconceptions of the nature and scope of vocational guidance.
- (2) Inadequate staffing of vocational guidance services.
- (3) Prevailing pressures of the culture.
- (4) Lack of adequate information about individual potentialities.
- (5) Lack of adequate occupational information.

Misconceptions of the Nature and Scope of Vocational Guidance. Foremost among misconceptions is the rather common lack of understanding of the needs for these services or an indifference to these needs. It is felt by this writer that herein lies our major problem, despite the disposition of many professional workers in vocational guidance to hold to the belief that need for vocational guidance services has long since been adequately proved and the proof accepted. The notion is prevalent among educators as well as laymen and youth that our present educational system provides the individual with sufficient knowledge about

himself and his environmental opportunities and he can and will, without further assistance, understand, accept and make effective applications of these factors to his own life.

And then there are those who, while recognizing that the "carry-over" from knowledge to application and action is not as effective as it should be, have little faith in the means we have at our command to provide such assistance. We should recognize that those who hold this opinion have often good reasons for such. They have seen poorly organized and staffed programs of vocational guidance fail in their avowed purpose without realizing how more adequate programs might have provided the outcomes sought.

Also prevalent are an almost endless number of misconceptions relative to the purposes and techniques of vocational guidance services. Space limitations forbid an attempt to mention all of them, but those which the writer feels to be most common and influential can be examined. Here, also, we suffer from malpractice by those who, without proper qualifications, claim or are induced to claim that they provide vocational guidance. Also harmful is the disposition of some educators to label as "guidance" almost any of the school services that are "human, decent and new."

The concept that vocational guidance is built around an eventful choice of a specific occupation or as a series of rather uniform steps that finally and almost universally culminate in such an event is commonly held even by some guidance counselors who attempt to "match" individual and occupation or to hurry unnaturally definite decisions. As a matter of fact, the emphasis on the word "choice" may itself be unfortunate inasmuch as in what may best be considered a cumulative process there may not be an identifiable choice manifested. Actually, what we seek is to assist the individual in the process of maturation which comes from continuous and small gains in moving toward action as a result of appropriate and meaningful information and experiences.

Another common misconception, based either on imagined fears or observations of malpracticing guidance counselors, is that the counselee will be manipulated in some way. This goes against the grain of all who believe in the right of the individual, whether professional or lay, to make his own decisions. It is also based on a distrust of the ability of anyone, no matter how well trained, to sufficiently understand an individual's potentialities and aspirations to so serve.

The concept of the "whole person," true and valuable as it is, has often been misinterpreted and misapplied by guidance counselors in avoiding or ignoring problems of vocational choices and adjustment in favor of other areas of adjustment. This writer is convinced that some of these counselors lack confidence in their ability to provide vocational guidance and, therefore, resort to the rationalization that it is unimportant. That personal-social aspects of adjustment have at times been overlooked or minimized in their relationship to the vocational is undoubtedly true. That youth in this country have, to date, ever received too much assistance in vocational choices is definitely not true. Neither is the contention by some that, if personal-social adjustments are attained, vocational adjustments will automatically follow.

Since the word "adjustment" has been so frequently used above, it is well to point out another misconception and even malpractice. That is, an inadequate interpretation of the meaning of adjustment so as to either equate it with conformity and to believe that it aims at smoothing the way and making things so easy for the individual that he needs make little effort of his own. A proper definition holds that the contrary is true. Given a more adequate understanding of the individual and his occupational opportunities, we would be in a much better position to require him to live up to his potentialities.

Another area where both concept and practice have been deficient is in relation to

the means by which vocational guidance services are to be provided. Some have been so intent on counseling *per se* that those who contemplate the problem of sufficient personnel to render the service in this way see how impossible it is in the light of present financial support. Those who have attempted this approach have discovered how little can be accomplished with the limited personnel available. Others have attempted to provide the individualized service of vocational guidance primarily or exclusively by group methods—the existing emphasis in American education that guidance procedures were developed to ameliorate things. This "cheap and easy" approach has been attempted for numerous reasons including pessimism relative to obtaining adequate personnel for counseling, lack of understanding of guidance principles and techniques, or indifference to any effective measures as long as a pretense of providing the service is evident. The obvious solution to this dilemma is a carefully planned combination of individual and group services wherein the latter provide a basis for and lead to the counseling service.

Inadequate Staffing of Vocational Guidance Services. Some of the bitter fruits of incompetent leadership and service in vocational guidance have already been mentioned. In the opinion of this writer, the presence and activities of unqualified personnel constitute the primary barrier to the implementation of vocational guidance services. The profession, as a result of past experiences, has developed fairly adequate criteria for professional vocational counselors. It has met with only partial success in getting these standards put into effect.

We have a fairly adequate idea of the type of training, experience and personality which a successful school guidance counselor should have. These are based on fairly generally agreed to standards as to the work duties to be performed. A subsidiary, but important, problem here is the difficulty of making reasonably accurate estimates of probable future success insofar as the per-

sonality phases of the vocational counselor are concerned.

It is true that the majority of the states have set up mandatory or voluntary qualification standards for school guidance counselors. Some of them still tend to be minimal in nature and there is wide variation in their enforcement. In addition, all signs point to an increasing shortage of personnel trained to meet even these standards.

This situation grows out of the lack of acceptance of the need for and importance of vocational guidance services and inadequate understanding and acceptance of the functions that are involved therein. Educational administrators are also under pressure to keep down the number of staff members not engaged in serving groups in classrooms. The writer feels that some of them are also concerned about the possible effect on their own prestige of vocational counselors who render valuable services.

Prevailing Pressures of the Culture. Once acceptance has been given to vocational guidance services and they have been established with the services and leadership of competent personnel, we face the problem of the pressures of our culture as they affect vocational aspirations. Numerous studies, the most notable being that of Counts, show that the American people have very definite ideas relative to the prestige they ascribe to occupations. These studies also show that it is common to attribute working conditions and earnings that do not correspond to reality to the high-ranked occupations. These unrealistic ideas about occupations seriously affect the vocational aspirations of youth, their concepts of their own potentialities and their understanding of occupational opportunities. Our concern should not be so much with the fact that prestige attitudes toward occupations exist as much as with the ignorance of young people as to the nature and extent of these pressures. Knowing in what direction the wind blows enables one, if so disposed, to brace against it.

Another type of pressure unduly affecting those engaged in the process of vocational

decisions comes from members of professions and leaders of society who recognize the serious consequences of manpower shortages in such occupations as science, engineering, teaching, and nursing. Concern for these shortages is understandable and defensible, but some of the recruiting techniques used in an attempt to enlarge the supply of workers are not. Unless wiser and cooler heads prevail, we may find ourselves basing the drive for scientists and engineers primarily on patriotism and without much regard to individual potentialities and aspirations. This will, in the final analysis, be of no benefit either to individuals or our society.

Lack of Adequate Information about Individual Potentialities. We are seriously handicapped in vocational guidance by lack of reasonably accurate information about occupational potentialities of individuals and about the tools for measuring them. Great strides have been made in the last three quarters of a century in recognizing the uniqueness of individuals, especially in educational and psychological circles. More light has been thrown on the relative contributions to occupational satisfaction and success of aptitudes, interests and application. Much more must be done to promote widespread understanding and acceptance by the public of individual variations and a more realistic view of the limitations of interests and application as they relate to aptitudes. And, finally, we need more intensive and fruitful research related to individual potentialities in terms of occupational demands and opportunities.

In vocational selection of workers by employers the relationship between individual capacities and job demands can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy, and the employees who measure up to the developed criteria can be selected. This is because rather specific criteria of success in the jobs found in the employer's establishment can be developed as a result of previous experience in selection and try-out. The situation in vocational choice is not so sim-

ple. Not only do occupational demands vary widely from job to job and from employer to employer, but many other variables that affect lives of individuals enter into the picture.

These difficulties, on which some progress has been made, re-emphasize the untenable nature of the "matching" concept and the need for greater emphasis on the "process" approach, wherein individuals gradually learn about their assets and limitations in relation to occupational opportunities and demands and gradually come to their own decisions.

Lack of Adequate Occupational Information. The problems described above would be simplified, but by no means dissolved, if we gathered, interpreted, and made available much more accurate information about the requirements for entrance, conditions of work, rewards, and supply and demand of occupations. In recent years the federal government, especially the Department of Labor, has been more prolific in publications of this nature. Most of them have been on the national level and do not provide adequate application to local conditions. State employment services have made some valuable contributions, but both theirs and the national efforts are ridiculously small as compared with the staffing and financing of agricultural crop reports.

Private publishers of occupational information have extended their publications also, but tend, because of demand, to concentrate more on the "popular" occupations. Much that is shoddy and inaccurate is on the market emanating from these sources. Business and industrial firms and educational institutions have also entered the field.

While these contributions are valuable if judiciously used, the primary purpose of recruiting by making the presentation more attractive than it actually is and by the omission of pertinent, but unfavorable data, is common. This is especially dangerous because the material is usually distributed free of charge, and that issued by large corporations is often very attractive and readable.

Much of the occupational information available is not very effectively used by schools. It is commonly available in school libraries and counselors' offices, but relatively few young people consult it on their own volition. More effective incorporation into the curriculum and presentation by teachers, who should themselves have a reasonably adequate understanding of the world of work, are called for.

An attempt has been made to describe, as the writer sees it, some of the most prevalent and serious problems that confront us in providing more effective vocational guidance services. No claim is made that all of the problems and barriers described here exist in all schools and communities throughout the country. Happily, examples can be found where some of the situations pointed out here do not exist or where they are not as severe as described. However, the fact remains that effective help in vocational choices and adjustments is not being provided and that, for all the splendid advance that has been and is being made, progress is slower than that demanded by the needs of individuals and society. Much more serious effort in the way of promotion, financing, staffing, and research must be applied to this task.

Eli Ginzberg addresses himself to the topic of occupational choice and its development. His basic postulation is that vocational choice is a process which

involves in many instances a period of many years and a series of decisions. In his theory he describes occupational choice as being a process that is largely irreversible, and one in which compromise is an essential aspect.

Within the frame of reference of this theory which discards the naive notion that occupational choice is a single event made at a given instant in time, it might be worthwhile to investigate (1) an all too common assumption that occupational choice can, and should, be made during the latter junior high school years, or the first part of one's high school career, (2) factors determining occupational choice, and (3) occupational choice as it relates to girls.

Some courses in the American public schools, particularly the vocational education courses, have as an implicit assumption the idea that a final, decisive vocational choice can be made as early as the ninth grade. Whereas this may be a possibility in some rare instances, it is insufficient as a rationale for development of a substantial portion of the school curriculum and as a basis for investment of over one-half of the high school education of a great number of youth. Ginzberg's theorizing should show the inadequacy of this position, although he does not intimate that his theory is at the level of development at which it can serve as basis for individual prediction. The dangers inherent in pre-apprentice training, in which a youngster will commit as much as one-half of his time in high school to the end of learning one vocation or skill, are many. The drop-outs and number of changes from this type of program are sufficient to raise questions regarding the wisdom of such a degree of specificity for any high school youngster.

TOWARD A THEORY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Several months ago my associates and I published the results of a research investigation into the determinants of occupational choice, on which we had been engaged for a considerable number of years—*Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory*. This investigation formed one link in a much longer chain of basic research into human resources which has been underway at Columbia University since the late 1930's, interrupted only by World War II. This helps to explain why an economist, psychiatrist, sociologist, and psychologist joined forces to study occupational choice.

Convinced that a fruitful field for research and important implications for policy lay within the broad domain of human resources, we have been concerned with building bridges between the social and the psychological disciplines. Neither the conventional framework of the social sciences—economics or sociology, nor that of the psychological disciplines—individual psychology or psychiatry, appeared adequate. Our primary objective has been the development of a theoretical structure for the study of human resources. We recognized, of course, that we could not hope to build such a struc-

[From Eli Ginzberg, "Toward a Theory of Occupational Choice," *Occupations*, 30 (1951): 491-494. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

ture in one act. At best it would be a slow and arduous undertaking which would require careful excavation and a sound foundation before we could safely proceed with the erection of the superstructure.

We started to work in the late 1930's when unemployment was the challenge of the day, and our early efforts were directed toward the study of "what unemployment does to people." There were two major products: *Grass on the Slag Heaps: The Story of the Welsh Miners* (1942); and *The Unemployed* (1943). These investigations taught us, among other things, about the individual frustration and the social wastage that results when people are deprived of an opportunity to work. We gained assurance that a significant and fruitful approach to the study of human resources lay in studying the role of work in modern society, from both the viewpoint of the individual and of the group.

But work, like sex, war, and democracy, is too complex a phenomenon to permit any one investigator, or even any group of investigators, to evaluate it in its entirety. A more modest and reasonable approach was called for, one that would concentrate on a significant sector of the larger problem.

The study of occupational choice was, therefore, a second step in a comprehensive approach to the study of work. We are currently engaged in the third step, in a project called the "Conservation of Human Resources," which has three major foci. The first concentrates on the problem of the marginal worker, particularly the relation between a handicap, such as the lack of education or emotional instability, and effective performance in work. The second deals with an analysis of talent and superior performance; this will consider the upper marginal group. The third concentrates on the major changes which have occurred during the last half century in the way in which the American works, lives, and thinks.

So much for the broad framework of our research into human resources. As to the specific problem of occupational choice,

there are four phases worth exploring. First, why we considered it important to develop a theory of occupational choice; secondly, the theory we were able to develop; thirdly, the implications of this theory for vocational guidance; and finally, the important next steps in research that grow out of this theory of occupational choice.

Americans are an impatient and practical people, always anxious to get on with the job and seldom inclined to devote the time and effort required to define just what the job is or how best to get on with it. This national characteristic has its good, as well as its bad, points. It means that we tackle many jobs in terms of our general knowledge and common sense rather than delay until we have worked out a general theory and a specific methodology. But there are risks implicit in such a pragmatic approach, risks that much of the effort expended will be poorly directed and the results will often be contradictory. After a comprehensive study of the literature of vocational guidance, my colleagues and I came to the conclusion that the movement was severely handicapped because both investigators and practitioners were working without the help of any theory at all or with severely limited theories. Although we recognized that sophisticated students had long been aware of the real limitations of tests of ability or inventories of interests, they were uncertain as to just what reliance they could place upon these techniques in the guidance of individuals and groups.

It appeared to us that the time was ripe to venture the attempt of developing a general theory of occupational choice. We did not assume that such a theory would be able to explain the range of individual choices which are made in our society. We did not even think that it would be possible to develop such a general theory and to validate it simultaneously. Our expectations were more modest. We had learned that despite thousands of investigations into various facets of occupational decision making, no adequate theory had been developed to ex-

plain how the multiplicity of factors within the environment, and forces within the individual, act and react on each other so that individuals could finally resolve the problem of their occupational choice. We did not find much merit either in the psychoanalytic formulation, which holds that one's occupational choice is determined by early unconscious needs, or in the position of the environmentalists, who hold that the key to the problem is in "such commonplace things as the nature of the jobs available in the community." The psychiatrists explain too much, too simply; the environmentalists explain too little, too patently. We therefore set for ourselves the task of identifying and evaluating the major factors in the vocational decision making of the individual during successive periods of his maturation. Our basic assumption was that an individual reaches his ultimate decision, not at any single moment in time, but through a series of decisions over a period of many years; the cumulative impact is the determining factor. We sought to delineate the process, discern the most significant patterns, and describe the major deviations.

BASIC ELEMENTS

The basic elements in the theory which we developed were three: *occupational choice is a process; the process is largely irreversible; compromise is an essential aspect of every choice*. Concerning the first element, it can be said that the process begins at the birth of the individual and may remain open until death. We began the study of the process in individuals at about the age of eleven, which appeared to be the first time that a young person recognizes that he will eventually have to do something about choosing his future work. We found that the process of occupational decision making could be analyzed in terms of three periods—*fantasy choices* (before 11); *tentative choices* (between 11 and 17); and *realistic choices* (between 17 and young adulthood when a person finally determines

his choice). The child, in the fantasy period, believes that he can become whatever he wants to become. He makes an arbitrary translation of his impulses and needs into an occupational choice. During the tentative period, his translation is almost exclusively in terms of such subjective factors as his interests, capacities, and values. Adolescents consider their choices tentative because they sense that they have not effectively incorporated the reality factors into their considerations. They are able to do this during the realistic period when they seek to work out a compromise between their interests, capacities, and values, and the opportunities and limitations of the environment.

We discerned four stages within the tentative period and three stages within the period of realistic choices. The first stage in the tentative period was called the *interest stage* because tentative choices made at this time are based almost exclusively on interests. Next the adolescent takes into consideration his *capacities*, and later, his *values*—the next two stages—and around seventeen he is in the *transition stage*, looking forward to college or a job. The realistic period begins with the *exploration stage*, during which the individual seeks for the last time to acquaint himself with his alternatives. This is followed by the *crystallization stage*, when he determines his choice, and finally, by the *specification stage*, during which he delimits it.

We do not claim final validity for this scheme nor, for that matter, for any other part of our theory, but we are impressed with the fact that these periods and stages were recognizable in such different groups as males from the upper income class, males from the lower income class, and females from the upper income class. Within this structure we noted two types of major variations, the first in the *patterns of choices*. There are people who might be characterized by their singleness of purpose. They are found typically among those with a pronounced aptitude or talent which comes to the surface early. Others start with a rather

broad and ill-defined area of interest, which is narrowed during adolescence. The second major variation concerns the *timing* of crystallization of choice. Although this usually occurs between 19 and 21, it may take place considerably earlier or much later.

In contrast to the normal variability in choice pattern and in the timing of crystallization, are *deviations* in the choice pattern or in timing. We believe that the pattern is defective when, for example, a 17-year-old deals with his choice solely in terms of his interests without reference to his capacities or his values, as would the typical 11-year-old. We hold that the older adolescent is deviating significantly from the norm for his age. The second type of deviation is found when an individual is unable to crystallize his choice. This is not the same as when a person makes a delayed choice; it is typified by the individual who is *unable to make a choice*, either because of a pathological passivity or because he is so pleasure-oriented that he cannot make the necessary compromises.

The second element of our theory, the *irreversibility* of the choice process, grows out of the reality pressures which introduce major obstacles to alterations in plans. A student in the second year of medical school will not easily decide to change his career plans. In addition, there are serious emotional barriers to a shift in plans because such a shift can so easily take on the quality of failure and present a threat to self-esteem.

CHOICE A COMPROMISE

Our third contention, that every occupational choice is of necessity a compromise, reflects the fact that the individual tries to choose a career in which he can make as much use as possible of his interests and his capacities in a manner that will satisfy as many of his values and goals as possible. But in seeking an appropriate choice, he must weigh his opportunities and the limitations of the environment, and assess the extent to

which they will contribute to or detract from his securing a maximum degree of satisfaction in work and life.

This theory has a host of implications for vocational guidance. The period and stage analysis provides the counselor with better norms than have hitherto been available for estimating whether the young person is approaching his occupational choice in a manner commensurate with his maturity. The theory should help to identify individuals who are encountering abnormal difficulties with this problem. The theory suggests the type of help to offer individuals at different stages in their development, as well as to emphasize the limitations attached to prematurely offering them help which they could utilize only at a later stage. The theory carries with it a strong warning against an over-evaluation of objective tests.

The theory suggests that we have moved too far toward a laissez-faire attitude within the family. It is not enough for parents to say to their youngster: "You make any choice you want. All I want is for you to be happy." The child needs a high degree of freedom, but he also needs assistance in delimiting the unknown. No adolescent ever makes an occupational choice alone. But the important question is whether he gets the right kind of help.

A FIRST APPROACH

We pointed out before, and we must emphasize again, that the theory of occupational choice which we have developed is only a first approach to a general theory. It has not been validated. But we are committed to a philosophy of research in which every initial effort must be viewed as tentative, subject to correction and improvement by the work of others. We believe that many significant areas awaiting exploration have grown out of our tentative formulations. Our most important recommendation would be to test this general theory both for larger samples of the same groups with which we worked and for entirely different groups, as,

for instance, a farm population or an important minority, such as Southern rural Negroes. Secondly, although we were able to work out only a few suggestions about the transition from the period of fantasy choices to that of tentative choices, we believe that there is much to be learned from studying carefully the way in which the child preoccupied with play is transformed into an adolescent concerned with his future work. Thirdly, although we explored the relation of emotional factors to work and sought to distinguish the work-oriented from the pleasure-oriented person, we did no more

than scratch the surface. Here is an important area which may throw new light on why certain individuals become productive and content in their work while others cannot even resolve the problem of their occupational choice. These and many more questions beckon.

It is our hope that we have been able to make a contribution to vocational guidance. It is our conviction that by a critical and constructive study of our theory of occupational choice, experts in vocational guidance can in turn make a significant contribution to research in human resources.

29. OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION

In the following reading, Herbert Rusalem considers the role of occupational information and its relationship to the current and growing emphasis upon the psychological factors in guidance. He further affirms the necessity of accurate occupational information as a basis for realistic decision making regarding occupations. He discusses the concepts presented by Ginzberg in the previous article as well as the relationship between vocational choice and self-concept as developed by Super.

NEW INSIGHTS ON THE ROLE OF OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION IN COUNSELING

Some workers in vocational guidance have expressed concern about the current interest

in the psychological aspects of assisting individuals to plan, enter, and succeed in oc-

[From Herbert Rusalem, "New Insights on the Role of Occupational Information in Counseling," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1 (1954): 84-88. Reprinted by permission of the author and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*.]

cupations. They have felt that the pendulum of emphasis has swung altogether too far in the direction of allying vocational guidance with psychotherapy. It has been their feeling that the sound original philosophy of Frank Parsons has been perverted and that we have indiscriminately joined the bandwagon of the psychological sciences. They perceive with alarm the possibility of a day not too distant when occupational information will pass into its twilight phase.

Basically, the question may be stated: do some of the recent psychologically oriented contributions to the literature necessarily render obsolete the use of occupational information? Or is there some reason to believe that rather than passing into limbo, the use of occupational information may be stimulated by newer and more significant conceptions of its use?

The so-called psychological emphasis in vocational guidance may be best exemplified by current studies in the nature and patterns of occupational choice and the reformulation of guidance understandings developing therefrom. This emphasis is well illustrated by the search for a general theory of occupational choice by Ginzberg and associates [1] and by a recent article on the role of the self-concept in vocational guidance [2].

Ginzberg has identified some of the factors which enter into occupational choice, grouping them in three major categories. Under a grouping known as the "self" such factors were recorded as capacities, interests, goals and values, and time perspective. In the group of "reality" factors were the influence of the family, education, knowledge of the world of work, and life plan. Finally Ginzberg reports the importance of "key persons" in the student's life in occupational choice. In essence, occupational choice is regarded as a process which is developmental in character, is related to past experience and influences the future development of the person, is basically irreversible, has the quality of a compromise, and is interwoven with emotional factors.

THE SELF CONCEPT AND OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION

Super [2] has written of vocational choice as an implementation of the individual's self-concept. In redefining the field in these terms, he has pointed up the feeling of some workers that there exists a conflict between these concepts and the traditional perception of vocational guidance as a blending of knowledge of the self with knowledge of the world of work. Super believes that the two approaches may be synthesized into a comprehensive approach which may serve as a guidepost in professional vocational guidance.

But how does such thinking relate to occupational information? By its very nature, the process of occupational choice subsumes a significant role for occupational information. In choosing a field of work, at any stage of his development, the individual ordinarily faces alternatives. As he exercises a preference for one vocation as opposed to one or more other vocations, he reveals personal perceptions of jobs and the world of work. However imperfect or distorted these perceptions may be, they represent an incorporation of job facts into the personality.

Although the analogy may seem absurd, if one may imagine an individual developing wholly without occupational information of any sort, it is apparent that occupational choice would be impossible for that person. Consequently, the foundations of occupational choice lie in knowledge of and feelings about occupations. It should be noted at this point that the occupational information possessed by the individual may be accumulated through a variety of media. A relatively small proportion of this knowledge may have been gained through formal techniques such as reading, teaching, audio-visual aids, and the like. For most of us, occupational information is inseparable from all the other products of learning and like such learning it becomes an integral part of the psychological field, passing from ground

into figure as the need of the person differentiates it from other information.

Beyond the basic assumption that occupational information necessarily underlies occupational choice is Ginzberg's observation that such information is a dynamic in the process of choice. It should be noted that here again the perceptions of the individual are not necessarily congruent with objective fact. The prospective teacher who perceives this field as a desirable one for his life career may be selecting elements in the profession which are subsidiary parts of the job or which may be contrary to teaching practice altogether. In essence, *it is not what exists "in reality" in a vocation which enters into occupational thinking, but what comprises the individual's personal perceptions of it.*

It is suggested by Super [2] that the development of the self-concept is initiated in childhood and that it tends to influence personal and vocational adjustments throughout life. Self-concept is the way a person looks upon himself and determines in part the way in which he looks upon the world. In making occupational choices, the client uses not so much the objective test and other data we have gathered nor the carefully annotated picture of the world of work that has been drawn for him. Rather, he puts his own perceptions of these to the task of occupational choice and these perceptions are consistent with his psychological field and his personal need.

NEW ROLES FOR OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION

These concepts open new vistas for occupational information. We need not abandon careful occupational research and cease the issuance of current data on the world of work. Instead, we need to re-evaluate our use of these materials and redirect their application to vocational guidance. It is no longer enough to teach classes in occupations as though this is primarily a field of subject matter. It will no longer suffice to refer a student to an occupational library. It

will now be necessary to incorporate occupational information into the counseling of the whole person. But it must be more than lip service. The counselor and client shall have to strive for understandings and appreciations of the meanings of occupational information in the larger problem of occupational choice and the still larger problem of personal adjustment.

If one accepts vocational guidance and vocational adjustment as functions of the self-concept of the individual, a mechanistic view of occupational information is no longer tenable. The process of imparting occupational information will become interwoven with the problem of meanings. A movie on the profession of nursing will not necessarily result in similar understandings of the profession on the part of a group of students. One may perceive the contact with sick individuals as the whole nursing job and find it consistent with her self-concept. Another student may select the aspect of making beds and providing physical comfort as the essence of the job and may reject it as unsuitable for her.

In fact, *the presentation of occupational information must assume that for the client it becomes a process of selective perception.* Clients will perceive the experience in ways which are rational to their own frame of reference. Ideas and feelings will be selected and brought from ground into figure because of their consistency with the self-concept. The individual approaches the learning situation with organizations of concepts which, to a large degree, determine his use of that experience. Consequently in counseling, to present occupational information haphazardly is to reduce the element of prediction which lends scientific character to our profession. Prior to establishing a program of occupational education for a client, the counselor will need to know the client and will need to be able to make better-than-chance predictions of the meanings of the planned experiences to him. Only then can the growth of the client be systematically furthered by occupational information.

In this frame of reference, the use of occupational information is viewed as an emotional one and may be perceived as having a dual role in counseling: (1) the exploratory role, and (2) the verification role.

THE EXPLORATORY ROLE

The exploratory role of occupational information is a predecision one. In addition to self-knowledge, decision making hinges on familiarity with the elements which go into the respective choices and the overall milieu which surrounds these choices. In the exploratory phase, the person is collecting data which may be of no immediate importance to decision making but which may remain in ground, or even become figure in later occupational differentiation.

For example, a youngster's experiences in the doctor's office need not necessarily be related to the vocational adjustment of the student, but they may relate to the richness of perceptions of the world of work which may aid in crystallizing choices later on. Nor is this function limited to childhood. Individuals faced by the problem of vocational reorganization, because of developments in their physical capacities or emotional growth, may need to explore the world of work for data which will aid them to reorganize their vocational field. If one understands adjustment as a constant series of organizations and reorganizations, then the exploratory role of occupational information takes its meaning from the need of the individual for elements with which to effect reorganization in the direction of equilibrium and a release from tension.

In the exploratory role as in the verification role, occupational information is tinged with emotional and perceptual overtones. The "floundering period" of adolescence is a period for the exploratory use of occupational information gathered on the job and applied to the problems of making more permanent occupational decisions. These short-term jobs provide young men and women with experiences which are deeply

meaningful to them. These are incorporated into the self-concept and modify it as the need arises. In any event, to explore occupations prior to reaching occupational decisions is to inject the total personality into the experience.

These are not merely objective try-outs; they are tests of reality. As a student explores the world of work through books, movies, radio, television, part-time jobs, plant visits, bull sessions, class discussions, and personal observations, he imbues these activities with emotional meanings significant to the whole person. He sees these jobs not merely as collections of functions or conglomerations of relationships but as leading to a type of self-appraisal in which he reaches some tentative decisions about how well they fit into his scheme of things. As they have meaning for him, so are they assigned areas in the psychological field of varying prominence and differentiation.

Since exploratory experiences with occupational information are emotional experiences, the most effective counseling techniques are those which permit the greatest degree of ego-involvement and which allow for the maximum testing of the self-concept in the reality of the world of work. Consequently, the most efficient use of occupational information in an exploratory sense would appear to lie in those experiences which involve most nearly the whole person. If such is the case, more passive techniques such as readings, movies, visits, and the like are less satisfactory than more active approaches. Within this framework, work tryouts and summer part-time jobs should offer the most fruitful occupational experiences. Writers have spoken of the values of getting the "feel" of the job. Perhaps by the "feel" of the job they have implied the emotions which surround occupational experiences. Individuals may read about retail store selling and engage in fantasies about the congruence of that profession to the self-concept. But selling in a department store during the Christmas rush season may be a deeply meaningful contact with reality.

which profoundly influences occupational choice and vocational adjustment.

By its deeply emotional significance, the exploratory role of occupational information provides raw material for counseling. An interview built about a student's readings in a pamphlet is less emotionally charged than the student's direct experiences with that occupation and the people who work in it. Consequently, in its exploratory role, *occupational information cannot be perceived as a collection of occupational facts and job market data. It needs to be perceived as a student's feelings about an occupation as a result of his contact with it.* The more intimate and the more emotional the contact, the more valid will be its contribution to decision-making and to counseling.

THE VERIFICATION ROLE

Having reached a tentative occupational choice, the individual engages in a process of reality testing. His vocational exploration narrows to one, or at best, a few fields. Perceiving himself as a worker in these fields, he reads further about them, trains for them, discusses them, and, perhaps, obtains employment in them. In each instance, his original hypothesis is being tested: "In the light of this additional information about my chosen vocation, is it still consistent with my expectations and my ideas about myself?"

For the most part, the verification process is closely allied to the process of selective perception. Unless additional occupational information is grossly inconsistent with the self-concept, elements are selected from the experience which tend to support and reinforce it. Thus, the student who has selected a career in drafting tends to perceive the components of drafting in ways which are least disturbing to the present self-organization. Minor inconsistencies are resolved and rationalizations are made which are acceptable to the self. Major discrepancies become the foci of conflict and if they cannot be resolved and incorporated into the self-con-

cept, the individual may move from the verification phase back into the exploratory phase to find a vocation which offers fewer inconsistencies with the self-concept.

In the verification role, occupational information is again not wholly objective. The individual brings to the occupational information an organizing mechanism or structure which to a degree determines how the information will be perceived and applied to the situation. This predetermined organization is characteristic of the individual and, although the pressures are toward its preservation, changes in it may result from the experience. In counseling the person who has reached a vocational decision, the stress lies not so much upon his ascertaining the facts of the job but upon his feelings about these facts and how they relate to his feelings about himself. The hours of work, the expected salary, the training required, the working conditions, and the labor market in that field assume importance in an individual's life only as they relate to the personality.

If this position is tenable, then the use of occupational information as a verification technique in counseling is largely a matter of working with people's feelings. It cannot be seen as a mechanical process apart from the emotional climate in which the individual moves and the concept which he has of himself. Instead, the interaction between the person and the occupational information may concern and precipitate severe emotional reactions. When a high school senior who has been planning to enter dentistry to fulfill his own and his family's concept of himself discovers that he cannot satisfy the minimal requirements of manual dexterity, it may be expected that considerable conflict may be created.

Counselors frequently encounter the problem of the student who has made an occupational choice which, in the light of test results and counseling interviews, seems unsuitable to the counselor. The techniques of dealing with this problem have been the concern of vocational counselors in all guidance

settings. In our frame of reference, we view this student or adult as an individual who has selected a field which appears to him to satisfy his self-concept, as a person who persists in planning for entrance into it because the occupational information and experiences which he has had have not been realistically meaningful to him. In instances where the selected occupation is in keeping with the reality situation, counseling in the verification stage seeks to provide clients with an emotional situation in which the client may obtain occupational information which can be incorporated into his self-concept. On the other hand, where discrepancy exists between the occupational choice and the reality situation, counseling needs to provide emotionally meaningful experiences which will stimulate conflict and reorganization.

In any event, occupational information seems to function in the verification stage as it did in the exploratory stage. This information is associated with feelings and attitudes and, as such, is most effectively used by the individual when he may interact with it in a way which is most emotionally significant to him. As a result, occupational information in the verification stage is most adequately obtained on the job. In a work setting, emotional involvement is most likely. When employed in a vocation or in tasks related to that vocation, the client interacts most closely with the occupational data which is available. On the other hand, the least satisfactory techniques of presenting occupational information for verification purposes are those which are intellectual and abstract. In any case counselors need

to help clients to become ego-involved in the search for vocational information. Most often the greatest degree of personal investment occurs when the client is directly experiencing the job first hand.

SUMMARY

The growing emphasis on psychological factors in vocational guidance does not minimize the role of occupational information. On the contrary, new and more powerful concepts of its use may be forthcoming. As an example, it is pointed out that occupational information has greater meaning when it is related to the emotional life of the client. In both its exploratory and its verification roles, occupational information must be perceived in terms of its meaning to a given individual. When this information is related to feelings, it becomes most effective in achieving the aims of counseling. It is suggested that the closer the proximity of the individual to the actual job of his choice the greater will be the helpfulness of the occupational information gained in aiding clients to select occupations, to confirm realistic choices, and to negate unrealistic vocational decisions.

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basis from which they can make adequate vocational decisions. This study is presented as an example of the concepts involved in the "job-analysis" part of vocational guidance. The reader is urged to consider the concepts in the article on the basis of whether they relate to "job analysis" or "man analysis"—i.e., what concepts listed emphasize primarily the job or vocation, and what concepts emphasize primarily the individual and his qualifications in terms of abilities, personality, and other factors.

Questions for consideration might be: To what extent does the reader agree that the concepts presented are essential and desirable? Which are the most important? How do significant concepts of occupational information become a part of the individual's perceptual set to the extent that they form the basis for decision making? What are the implications for school teachers and counselors in terms of assisting the individual to gain the necessary insight into self and environment?

In the final article of this section, Ray Handville describes techniques for disseminating information about occupations.

SIGNIFICANT CONCEPTS OF OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION

High school youngsters in general education courses—what should concepts of occupational information be for them? Which concepts are essential, desirable, and ineffectual, and how important is each?

Setting out to answer these questions, the author first attempted to select and determine tentative concepts of occupational information. To do this he analyzed 24 textbooks on occupational information for high school boys and girls. He then appraised each concept in terms of its usefulness with these general education students. This resulted in a tentative list of 720 concepts, which were submitted for appraisal to two carefully selected juries composed of master high school teachers of occupational information, community counselors, personnel directors in business or industry, and public

employment officials. These persons were chosen to provide the judgment of the frontier thinker, the curriculum builder and the administrator, the placement adviser who deals with youth and the business and industrial utilizers of the product of the secondary school. . . .

After a pretrial, a list of 720 derived concepts of occupational information was prepared and sent to 12 jurors who had agreed to appraise the concepts. The jurors were requested to classify each concept of occupational information defined below.

The key definitions for use in the appraisal were:

Essential Concept of Occupational Information: A statement was considered to be an essential concept of occupational information if it was an idea or element which

[From M. J. Ross, "Significant Concepts of Occupational Information," *Occupations*, 30 (1952): 323-326. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

should be mastered by all high school youth because it is essential, indispensable, necessary, or imperative for wise selection of an occupation, for job entry, for job adjustment, or for job satisfaction.

RANK AND CONCEPT

ESSENTIAL CONCEPTS

In studying a specific vocation, one should consider the following:

- 4 The education and training needed for the job and obtainability including the cost of such training and education.
- 4 The personal qualifications needed.
- 4 The work done and ways of entering the occupation.

The steps to take in choosing a vocation are:

- 4 Obtain a general view of the occupational world.
- 4 Study of one's self.
- 4 A high score on an aptitude or interest test does not guarantee that a student or worker will be successful; vocational success depends on a multitude of factors, of which aptitude and interest are only two.
- 4 Life is so complex that a person may be obliged to choose a vocation that represents a compromise among several considerations.
- 8 There are several rewards other than the financial reward in any occupation, and in many occupations these other rewards outweigh the financial compensation.

The steps to take in choosing a vocation are:

- 10.5 Study possible occupations thoroughly.
- 10.5 Comparison of one's qualifications, or the qualifications one can

acquire, with the requirements of the occupation.

- 10.5 Not all persons have the same abilities.

- 10.5 More than half the employees discharged are dismissed because of undesirable personal habits— inability to get along with others, unwillingness to take directions, unreliability, absence, laziness, etc.—rather than because of lack of ability or training for the job.

- 13 Working hours are for business, not for writing private letters, reading newspapers, or idle chatting.

In studying a specific vocation, one should consider the following:

- 15 The conditions of work.
- 15 The supply and demand for the vocation.

- 15 The choice of a vocation affects one's standard of living, the locality in which he makes his home, his friends, and associates, the recreations he enjoys, the security of his old age, his family's place in society, his outlook on life, his happiness, his success, and even the occupations his children will enter.

- 17 Graduation from high school is a requirement in a sufficiently large number of jobs so that a person should try to complete either high or vocational school.

In studying a specific vocation, one should consider the following:

- 18 The opportunities and paths for promotion in or advancement from the occupation.

- 19.5 No fortune teller of any kind can help a person to make a wise occupational choice.

- 19.5 A person's beginning job may be quite different from his ultimate goal; it takes time to work up to most worthwhile positions.

In studying a specific vocation, one should consider the following:

- 22 The earnings to be expected.
- 22 The favorable and unfavorable features of the occupation.
- 22 Good work habits are an important part of success in occupational life.
- 24 Application blanks should be filled out legibly with ink, neatly, fully, honestly, and correctly.
- 25 Workers are not automatically promoted from the bottom to the top simply because they have been employed for a long period of time.
- 26.5 An individual can succeed and be happy in any one of several vocations.
- 26.5 While a person can probably earn a living in any one of several different occupations, he will be happiest if he works at something which interests him.
- 28 A professional worker is one who performs work based upon the established principles of ethics of a profession and which requires training equivalent to that represented by graduation from a college or university of recognized standing.

DESIRABLE CONCEPTS

- 29.5 Every worker who serves well in a useful and necessary job is worthy of respect.
- 29.5 Job applicants should not smoke or chew gum during an interview. Job applicants should not drink liquor before an interview.
- 31.5 Many statements about occupations, while they were true at the time they were made, may not be true now.
- 31.5 Preparation for work is never completed.

- 34 Farming is of basic importance to society.
- 34 A vocational choice made at an early age need not necessarily be one's ultimate choice, one may change his goal and his vocation as opportunity and wisdom demand.
- 34 A job applicant should state specifically what he can do or learn to do; he should not say he is willing to do anything.
- 36 Starting from a beginning job, there is usually a stage at which one could branch off into any one of several different directions.
- 38 There are various ways of finding out about occupations, such as talking with workers, observing workers at work, studying what workers have written about their jobs, reading biographies of successful workers, and work experience.
- 38 Employers prefer employees who take an interest in the firm, who make suggestions for the improvement of the plant or its methods, and who study phases of the business other than those in which they are immediately engaged.
- 38 Persons may find out about occupations from individuals engaged in the occupations, from various organizations, from unions, from employers, from part-time jobs, from former students, from reading and studying.
- 40.5 There are certain occupations in which a woman is at an advantage because she is a woman.
- 40.5 Most businessmen hire workers for the service they can render and not because of the applicant's financial trouble or the emotional appeals he uses in applying for a position.
- 42 Standards of preparation are ris-

ing in all occupations; by the time school youth are ready to undertake the work of their choice, the educational requirements will probably be higher than they are today. It is better to accept the maximum recommendation for education and training rather than the minimum.

- 43 A good way to provide for versatility while in school is to choose and experiment with a whole field of work rather than a specific vocation.
 - 44 All worthy and necessary occupations are really productive.
 - 45 All occupations that contribute to the well-being of mankind are equally honorable.
- In studying a specific vocation, one should consider the following:*
- 49 The initial earnings.
 - 49 If a person wishes to be successful, he must discover his interests and abilities.
 - 49 Initial salary in a job is less important than the opportunity for service and the future advancement or opportunities offered.
 - 49 A job applicant should not sprawl in a chair during an interview.
 - 49 A person should be courteous, natural, and respectful in a job interview.
 - 49 A job applicant, on entering the interviewer's office, should introduce himself, state his mission, and remain standing until he is asked to be seated.
 - 49 A job applicant should not speak slightly of former employers.

Desirable Concept of Occupational Information: A statement was considered to be a desirable concept of occupational information if it was an idea or element which it is desirable for all high school youth to become

acquainted with because it is expedient, opportune, convenient, or advantageous in making easier the wise selection of an occupation, job entry, job adjustment, or job satisfaction.

Ineffectual Concept of Occupational Information: A statement was considered to be an ineffectual concept of occupational information if it was an idea which made only a very limited or an inconsequential, insignificant, inappreciable, immaterial, or unessential contribution to wise selection of an occupation, job entry, job adjustment, or job satisfaction.

General Education: As used in this study, the term "general education" refers to "that broad, integrated, nonvocational and non-specialized part of a person's education which leads to personal growth and responsible citizenship by preparing him for satisfactory adjustment to the needs and problems of his environment, and for active participation in the many aspects of living."

The qualitative ratings of the jurors were translated to quantitative ratings on the assumption that the distribution of "essentialness," "desirability," and "ineffectiveness" was normal and that one juror was as competent a judge as another. With the caution that the distinction between the ratings "essential" and "desirable" was not as clear-cut as the distinction between the ratings "desirable" and "ineffective" the assumption of normality was upheld. Many items were expected to show and did show the entire range of ratings.

Weights were assigned to the ratings of the jurors in accordance with the percentage of times each juror used each rating.

For statistical purposes the numerical ratings of each jury were considered independently. This permitted the use of two sets of mean ratings. On the basis of the two separate scores for each of the 720 concepts, the reliability of the evaluation of the two juries was 0.56 ± 0.026 , a substantial correlation.

To provide an objective basis for ranking

each concept of occupational information, the mean rating of each item was obtained by using the numerical ratings of all 12 jurors.

The essential and desirable concepts of occupational information determined by this investigation may be of value to all teachers of secondary and presecondary school youth, to teachers of guidance and occupational information, to counselors, to councils or committees concerned with the construction or revision of courses to include occupational information within their particular instructional area, to curriculum researchers, to authors of textbooks, workbooks, and other occupational information materials for secondary and presecondary school youth, and to the producers of instructional films for use by these youth.

The list of essential and desirable concepts may offer to the above groups some objective index of the relative importance of the various concepts for general educa-

tion. The items are ranked in a continuum, and although there are headings, these should not be adhered to too rigidly.

The teaching of all the essential and desirable concepts may be more than any one teacher, or group of teachers, or type of school can successfully accomplish in the time available. The teacher may well select those concepts with the highest ratings which best seem to fit the needs of his particular pupils.

Only 28 concepts met the rigid test of essentiality. Six hundred fifty-nine concepts were adjudged desirable and 33 ineffectual. Of the 28 essential concepts, three were in the area of general orientation to the world of work, 12 were in the area of methods of studying specific occupations, 12 were in the area of vocational values and attitudes, and one in the area of techniques of job finding. The 50 concepts with the highest mean ratings are here presented in descending order of importance.

WAYS OF DISSEMINATING CAREER INFORMATION

Much has been said and written on methods and techniques of disseminating career information to high school students. This article is a summary of these proposals, with several ideas that have probably seldom appeared in print.

Many counselors depend upon one or two ways to pass on career data to their students to the exclusion of many other methods which could well supplement those they use. The methods briefly described here may serve as a reminder to those who believe that occupational information is essential in intelligent career planning.

These ideas have been proven practical.

The details for putting each into practice can be readily worked out. The few comments given are the high points around which the technique is organized for local application or a brief evaluation of the practice.

Assembly Talks: Topics should be carefully chosen. So many interests are represented in a school assembly that the talks should be very general. The speaker should be chosen for his ability to appeal to students. Talks should be brief and supported by visual aids.

Bulletin Board Displays: Their purpose is to stimulate interest in further study or

[From Ray Handville, "Twenty-two Ways of Disseminating Career Information," *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, 2 (1953-54): 45-48. Reprinted by permission of *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*.]

reading and to broaden the vocational horizon of students. Change the display every week, if it is on a stationary board; have plenty of white space in the display: use colors in the printed signs; use many illustrations; do not crowd with solid reading material; secure the help of your art department. Displays are much more effective on portable bulletin boards, which can be made by different class groups and then displayed in the chalk trays of different rooms.

Career Booklets: These are booklets made by students who have been assigned, or have selected, occupational titles on which to do "research." The value of this method is open to question. It is generally considered as a "busy" project to be used when the leader has no other ideas.

Career Days: This is a good public relations technique. The school will generally receive many compliments on the program even though the value to students in proportion to the work required is questionable.

Career News Letter: To get to all interested students bits of important information that come to a counselor's desk is often a problem. This information may be summarized and placed in a news letter to be read by home- or classroom teachers and then posted on the room bulletin boards. These letters should: be brief (one page); contain no more than a short paragraph on any one topic; be designed to stimulate students to seek more data; broaden the career horizon of all students. One short letter a week is much more valuable than a long one every month.

Clubs: Career, college, and scholarship clubs held during activity periods can be used to advantage with small groups having similar interests. (See *Group Discussions*.)

Dictionary Occupational Titles: It is surprising to learn how few counselors know little or nothing about this book which makes fascinating reading for anyone interested in careers. Students should be referred to it constantly. It should be used in counseling and group work and be available in the guidance office and the library. There should be several copies in every school.

Exploratory Experiences: The best way to learn about one's interests and abilities in any field of work is to do the job, do related work, or at least be for a period in an environment where the work is being done. These experiences are often made possible by a counselor through one of his local service clubs. The actual experiences of an employee (including pay, time clock punching, etc.) are desirable in such summer, afterschool, or Saturday experiences.

Film Strips: Film strips dealing with career information can be very dull to a group of students accustomed to TV and sound movies. The knowledge and enthusiasm of the user of the strips are the determining factors in their value.

Group Discussions: Students have so many problems in common that it is advantageous to meet in groups to discuss them. Discussion groups are ideal when composed of students who have the same wish, for instance: to go to college; to make a college choice; to search for a scholarship; to enter apprenticeship training; or to enter the same job.

Job Analyses: Students can readily learn the fundamentals of doing a simplified job analysis. With the *Training and Reference Manual for Job Analysis*, U.S. Department of Labor, available from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. for 30¢ a counselor can readily work out a student outline. Any counselor can profit by practicing these techniques himself. Data collected by students may be filed for the use of others.

Motion Pictures: Many sound films are listed in motion picture catalogues under "Occupational Information." Numerous professional evaluations of these have resulted in labeling most of them unsuitable. The user should review the films before using them. Where suitable ones are used it is highly desirable to prepare students for the viewing and then to follow the "shows" with a discussion period.

Occupational Classes: The value of formal "guidance" classes is demonstrated by the fact that very few are continued out of the

hundreds that are started. They have proven impractical for most schools.

Occupational File: Such a file is essential to contain the wealth of available inexpensive or free unbound occupational material. The file should be kept where it will get maximum use, either in the outer guidance office or in the guidance corner in the Library.

Placement Service: Placing students in part- or full-time jobs enables them to receive experience which will aid them in making their career choice.

Speaker, Career: The practice of inviting career speakers to talk to interested students is a good technique. Care should be exercised in the selection of speakers, who should center their brief talks around an outline (furnished by the counselor) containing essential topics. A series of talks given one at a time should be planned for the whole year and each student who wishes may sign up for a limited number. The talks should be considered sufficiently worth while for interested students to be excused from classes to attend them. A discussion period should follow each talk.

Subject-Occupations Relationships: Each teacher should have a wall chart indicating the occupations to which interest and ability in her subject may lead such as those published by the Chronicle Guidance Publications, Moravia, N. Y. She should also have a complete list of such occupations with

brief definitions. At least one class period a semester should be devoted to a discussion of this list.

Survey of Jobs in the Community: Job surveys done by students are excellent means of broadening the vocational horizons of students and making them more career conscious. A summarized report should be prepared of the survey and discussed with the group who made it.

Visits to Places of Employment: Well-conducted tours by small groups of interested students are an excellent way to acquaint them with working conditions in local and nearby industries and other places of employment. Preparation before the visits and follow-ups are necessary to secure maximum benefits.

Worker Interviews: Students should be able to talk with experienced workers about jobs to which they are aspiring. This means careful selection and preparation of interested workers in the community, each of whom should have an outline to follow in discussing his job with students. Counselors should have a card file arranged alphabetically by the job titles of these people. Appointments may be arranged by phone by the counselor. These workers should be encouraged to arrange for student visits to their places of employment, but it is often best for the student to go to the home of the worker for the interview on his particular job.

30. PLACEMENT

In the following article Daniel Sinick analyzes the function of placement as a guidance service. Placement is discussed in terms of vocational or job placement.

As Sinick states, guidance was at first virtually synonymous with placement. This identity dates back to the first part of the century in a cultural context which was considerably different in terms of occupational structure than it is today. The extensive national, local, state, and private placement agencies had not developed into the large institutions that they are today, and the need for placement services as a part of the school guidance activity seemed evident. The occupational world was infinitely less varied than it is now and the task of placement was much less complex.

The reader should consider placement in terms of a criterion of efficiency—i.e., where should the locus of responsibility lie and who should administer placement services? The question of duplication and overlap cannot be minimized. Neither can the basic philosophical differences between placement as carried out by school placement personnel and the personnel of the various employment agencies listed.

The development of placement services in the public school is in part a function of the community situation in which the school is located. In some communities it is necessary that the placement function be administered directly by the school personnel; in others it has become a coordinative activity. It might be appropriate to consider the factors which underlie the development of placement in either of the two patterns just suggested.

PLACEMENT'S PLACE IN GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Placement has long been recognized as related to guidance and counseling, but the relationship has been lacking in clarity. Is placement a legitimate function of guidance? Is placement a proper function of industry? Should placement be done by the public employment service alone? Are placement and counseling best conducted as separate functions? Should both functions within a school or agency be performed by the same personnel? Should a counselor do placement? Should a placement worker do counseling? Answers to questions like these have been approached in this article through a consideration of both pertinent literature and actual practice.

Placement is employed here in the sense of vocational or job placement, not educational placement in an institution of learning. With regard to guidance and counseling such a distinction is much more tenuous, since educational guidance and educational counseling are usually conducted with a vocational end in mind. In view of the questions raised, however, vocational guidance and vocational counseling may be thought of as the processes under discussion.

PLACEMENT AND GUIDANCE

. . . Guidance in its beginnings was indeed little more than placement. From this initial

[From Daniel Sinick, "Placement's Place in Guidance and Counseling," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 33 (1955): 36-40. Reprinted by permission of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*.]

overemphasis on placement, the pendulum later swung toward the other extreme, placement being considered by some to have no place in guidance. It was felt that if guidance was done properly, placement would take care of itself. . . .

Placement as a function of guidance can be regarded as a protection of the investment of guidance in a client. When guidance fails to protect its investment, placement frequently becomes a function of industry. And industry's investment is of a different nature. "When placement is an industrial service," says Warters, "the emphasis is usually on the job rather than on the individual and his needs . . . The needs of the employer are placed before those of youth. . . ." This no doubt remains true, despite a considerable tendency in many industrial concerns toward a broader approach to their own self-interest.

Since 1933 the public employment service has developed as another possible repository of the responsibility for placement. For some time the battle lines have been drawn rather sharply between those favoring the employment service and those favoring the schools. The former have gradually gained aid and comfort from their ostensible enemies. The American Association of School Administrators in 1943, while recognizing placement as part of the "continuing responsibility of the schools to youth," concluded that, because of the growing complexities of manpower needs and occupational analyses, "public placement services should increasingly be assumed by government agencies."

The arguments which have been advanced in favor of the assumption of the placement function by the state employment agencies are generally to the effect that such specialized governmental agencies can render more effective service, since they have easier access to all types of occupational and labor market information and are set up especially to perform placement. Guidance personnel lack the time, it is said, to devote to place-

ment. It is also argued that job seekers who may later be dealing with the employment service might just as well deal with it from the start. Some youth, it is argued as well, may prefer to make a clean break with the school and seek placement help elsewhere. It is argued, too, that youth may more easily be weaned away from dependence upon the school if placement is handled by an outside agency. A further argument is that duplication of placement efforts is uneconomical and may create ill will in employers through competition for their attention. This is of course a double-edged argument.

If the writer may enter the fray, he would like to point out two possible dangers in the assumption by the public employment service of increasing control over placement. One danger is that agencies with their fingers on the pulse of the labor market may be guided in their placements more by the job openings of the moment than by the long-range needs of the client. A perhaps broader danger is that government, like industry, may tend to put its own needs before the needs of the persons to be placed. Manpower shortages may determine placements. The goal of guidance, as Super has well emphasized, is human development, not manpower utilization.

Other arguments have been advanced by those who advocate retention by the school of responsibility for placement. If the employment service is closer to occupational information, it is argued, the school is closer to information about the student, information about his capacities and needs upon which must be based any proper placement. Jones maintains, furthermore, that "vocational guidance cannot be efficiently administered without the information to be gained by placement and without the contacts with employers that can be secured only in this way." Some writers, regarding placement as the culmination of the guidance process, consider the school derelict in its duty if it neglects this important step: "not to perform this service is to leave voca-

tional guidance unfinished . . ." [5, p. 182]. Although earlier phases of the guidance process may have led to the choice of a suitable occupation, a counselee may nevertheless land in an unsuitable job. He may need placement assistance to implement his occupational choice. If unable to find appropriate employment, he may require further counseling geared toward the profitable use of time which might otherwise be wasted. Related employment or additional training may be in order. Periods of job scarcity point up the importance of placement's integration within the total guidance process.

The point of view now most commonly held seems to be that competition between schools and employment service must give way to cooperation. "It is not so much a question of *who* does the . . . placement work," wrote Super more than a decade ago, "as one of *how* it is done. . . ." To Novak, it is not so much who does it as that it be done. The question is an academic one, of course, in communities with no public employment service; there the schools must be responsible for placement. In many communities where both facilities exist, a collaborative approach to placement has been practiced for some years, a number of satisfactory working relationships having evolved. The employment service, instead of waiting for high school students entering the labor market to come to its offices, has provided its assistance right in the schools at job-seeking time. Schools frequently furnish the employment service with information about students pertinent to placement. In some localities the community itself has accepted responsibility for placement, establishing a centralized office for this purpose, whether located in school or agency. Although no ideal arrangement has as yet been achieved, cooperation between schools and employment service does seem a possible answer to the question regarding whose function placement should be. The function can be shared. The locus of responsibility, however, should remain chiefly where the

guidance point of view predominates—in the schools.

PLACEMENT AND COUNSELING

Where placement functions within the framework of guidance, how is it related to counseling? Mahoney's jury of experts considered an understanding of this relationship to be essential to the training of counselors. The picture of this relationship within the guidance frame has depended upon the point of view of the beholder. The counselor tends to look upon the relationship one way, the placement worker another.

"In most educational institutions," writes one placement worker, "the placement office is the most logical place to formulate, supervise and carry out a vocational orientation, guidance and counseling program" [2, p. 26]. Another placement worker includes "The Guidance of Students" as one of four functions of placement and suggests that placement workers "can give much help in designing the professional lives of young people" [3, p. 55]. Still another, speaking of the employment manager or other personnel worker who interviews applicants for jobs in industry, says [1, p. 47]: "Not only does he function as an employment man, he must also be prepared to accept the responsibilities of a vocational counselor."

Despite the natural desire of any discipline to extend its own function, writers on counseling seem to have exercised much greater restraint in this regard. They appear to make a distinction between function and responsibility. They do not insist that one person perform the functions of all the phases of the guidance process. They do, however, hold the counselor responsible for all the phases. "It is important to remember," writes Failor, "that the counselor is a key figure in the provision of guidance services that extend beyond the counseling function." Mahoney similarly says "the job of the secondary school counselor goes be-

yond the act of counseling. . . ." Both these writers mention placement as one of the counselor's responsibilities. . . .

In practice this separation of function seems to be the rule. Schools and community agencies generally have separate counselors and placement workers. Nor has this been simply a chance development; it has frequently arisen from theoretical considerations. Those who conduct the Federation Employment and Guidance Service in New York City, for example, have "their counseling and placement divisions work separately and together for the benefit of clients. Counselors prepare the individual for the recognition of the right job and placement workers help secure such a position. They believe the division of function sharpens the skills in both fields. . . ."

The efficiency born of specialization can be enhanced, however, by a constant interplay between counseling and placement. Neither can operate efficiently in isolation from the other. Placement workers need from counselors all the information they can get about persons to be placed. Counselors need from placement workers all the information they can get about local labor market conditions, for, as Super says, "the vocational counselors are the school officers whose function it is to maintain an especially close relationship with the occupational world."

It should be pointed out that while greater familiarity with the fluctuating labor market may prevent counselors' operating in a vacuum, increased knowledge of current job situations must not cause counselors to lose sight of broader trends. When counselors fail to see the forest for the trees, many clients may get lost in the woods. Just as a physician, to change the metaphor, does not draw conclusions about his patient's ultimate health from a temporarily slow or rapid pulse, so a counselor cannot draw conclusions about an occupation's ultimate opportunities from momentary openings.

To avoid dangers of this kind and to give counselors and placement workers better

perspective, a worthwhile arrangement seems to be an occasional or a periodic shuffling of counseling and placement functions. In some community agencies, each worker for a period of time performs each of the various agency functions. By doing counseling, psychological testing, and placement, the worker gains a rounded view of the agency's mission, a view which is more likely to include the individual client, his basic needs and capacities, and his long-range goals. The local feasibility of such a plan would depend, of course, upon the backgrounds of the workers involved.

Functional and personal limitations should always be borne in mind by counselor and placement worker. Neither should transcend these limitations when the client's welfare, the paramount consideration, is at stake. A counselor who has had little or no experience in placement might render his client a disservice by taking a random try at placing him. A placement worker might equally harm his client by attempting to counsel him about an occupational choice made after due deliberation. Competition between counselor and placement worker must be guarded against.

Cooperation is the keynote in the counseling-placement relationship. All pertinent information about clients and employment prospects should flow smoothly and freely from one worker to another. Clients themselves must be eased through the transition from one function to the other. Lest they feel shuttled about unnecessarily, careful continuity and personal attention must be maintained. An understanding of the need for a cooperative approach may make irrelevant any question as to whether counseling embraces placement or placement embraces counseling. Working hand in hand, counselor and placement specialist should combine their efforts for the greater benefit of each client.

SUMMARY

Placement, at first virtually synonymous with guidance, later developed into one

phase of guidance. Growing more highly specialized, placement became a bone of contention between the schools and the public employment service. Good arguments were offered by each faction favoring its own hegemony over placement. A combining of forces has become a common resolution of this conflict. Though the function may be shared, the responsibility for placement as a phase of guidance should reside in the schools.

Placement and counseling, being theoretically considered rather distinct specialties, have in practice been generally performed by separate personnel. While this appears to be the most efficient arrangement, increased efficiency seems attainable through constant cooperation between the two functions. Each recognizing his own limitations of function and competency, counselor and placement specialist should collaborate closely in developing relevant information and in articu-

lating their functions for the client's benefit.

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• XII •

Group Guidance

31. APPLICATIONS OF GROUP GUIDANCE

32. SOCIODRAMA AND ROLE PLAYING

GROUP guidance is an area that has been receiving increasing attention as the part of the general current interest in social psychology and group dynamics. Kitch and McCreary list the following as the purposes of group guidance activities in the secondary school:

- (1) To assist in the identification of common problems.
- (2) To provide information useful in the solution of adjustment problems.
- (3) To provide opportunities for group thinking in regard to various common problems and experiences.
- (4) To provide opportunities for experiences that promote self-understanding.
- (5) To lay the foundations for individual counseling.¹

Traxler says in discussing the rationale that is the basis of group guidance:

. . . but there is a fifth reason for group work, which in the view of many psychologists justifies group activity in its own right. These workers stress the therapeutic character of discussion and thinking and search for values within a group of one's own peers. Here the focus is not upon in-

¹ D. E. Kitch and W. H. McCreary, *Improving Guidance Programs in Secondary Schools*, California State Department of Education, Sacramento, 1950, pp. 18-19.

formation, but upon attitudes, emotions, motivations, self-concepts and the whole range of personality qualities. This is peculiarly the habitat and the happy experimental ground of group psychotherapy, sociometry, psychodrama, sociodrama, and group dynamics. No one can quite say what is coming forth of demonstrated value, but the vocabulary of this area is expansive and impressive, and the possibilities are intriguing.²

Traxler's remark can serve as the basis for our investigation and assessment of group methods in guidance. The utilities of group methods have not been in many cases experimentally demonstrated, and yet on the basis of limited evidence we can assume that they have much promise.



31. APPLICATIONS OF GROUP GUIDANCE

There are many occasions in the public school situation in which group methods can be used; some of these are indicated in the following articles. Super, in the first article to be presented, classifies group activities in terms of purpose and goal, as orientation activities and therapeutic activities.

In this selection on group techniques the reader should attempt to determine their general application to the school situation. It can be assumed that the orientation-factual information-type activities have to some degree been used in the past and constitute a relatively nonthreatening area of work. Such activities can often be integrated into the class organization and they include many of the activities listed by P. C. Polmantier and G. E. Clark in the second article.

The second categorization, therapeutic activities, has the same ethical implications as psychotherapeutic counseling in the schools. To the extent that the community has not accepted therapy as a legitimate function of the school, the net result of such activity could operate to the detriment of the entire guidance program.

A basic question is the extent to which counselors and teachers have the ability to carry on therapeutic activities in the school setting in view of their training and background limitations. Group therapeutic activities are not the type of activities that can be successfully carried out by an inexperienced and superficially interested guidance worker. Many things can happen in a group therapeutic session, as in an individual counseling session, to break down a

² A. E. Traxler, *Techniques of Guidance* (New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1957), p. 317.

client's organized pattern of behavior and defenses. If this happens in the case of a seriously disturbed individual, the results can be catastrophic.

An additional element involved in the group situation is the fact that the traditional relationship between counselor and counselee no longer exists. The process of catharsis may result in the revelation of secrets that had better not be revealed in a group situation which high school students, by virtue of limitations of maturity, have difficulty handling in a sophisticated fashion.

These introductory comments with respect to group therapeutic activities seem to have been negative in nature. The point to be emphasized is that such activities should not be left to the whim of the part-time counselor or the inexperienced malpracticing practitioner. Group activities in the hands of a skillful counselor have a great deal of promise.

GROUP TECHNIQUES IN THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM

This paper is an attempt to examine group guidance, on the part of one who is not a specialist in that area, to view group guidance in some perspective, to rationalize our thinking about its techniques, and to assess its contribution to and its place in the total program of guidance services. The extremely diverse and incohesive literature was difficult to assimilate and to synthesize. What follows is therefore definitely one man's attempt to organize a chaotic field; it is sure to prove incomplete and inadequate in many ways.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF GROUP TECHNIQUES

Group guidance methods can be classified under two headings according to their purpose: as *orientation* activities, and as *therapeutic* activities. They can be classified also according to the principal method used: as *activity* methods and as *discussion* methods. The discussion which follows focuses first on the purpose, then on the method.

Orientation.—The purpose of orientation

is dual: it may be *factual*, conducted in order to disseminate information presumably needed by the participants, or it may be *attitudinal*, designed to inculcate or develop attitudes which facilitate self-orientation. Or it may, of course, be designed to do both of these things.

Factual orientation, which presumably helps the individual to adjust when there is little likelihood of emotional involvement, should be useful in a guidance program when carried on *before* the information which is to be imparted has acquired appreciable emotional significance. Thus, orientation to unskilled and semiskilled occupations, which tend to be looked down on after financial and social status values become attached to them in the eyes of children, might best take place in the elementary school. At that age they would be judged less by monetary and prestige returns, and more by the intrinsic nature of the activity; strength, speed, skill, tools, and the social contribution of the worker would be among the determinants of which the child was aware. At this stage of his development, he

[From Donald E. Super, "Group Techniques in the Guidance Program," *Educational and Psychological Measurements*, 9 (1949): 496-510. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Educational and Psychological Measurements*.]

would be able to take in facts which would serve as the basis for a more tolerant and accepting attitude toward unskilled and semi-skilled work as he grew older.

This illustration of the importance of timing in factual orientation has implications for the methods to be used in the dissemination of information. As Jager has often pointed out in criticizing the use of the term "group guidance," the dissemination of information, factual orientation, is nothing other than instruction. And if the instruction, to be helpful in promoting adjustment, must come at just the right time in a child's life, then it will be difficult routinely to provide specific group guidance activities of the factual orientation type at just the right time for all pupils. This hypothesis seems to be borne out by the experience of many teachers of orientation and occupations courses in junior high schools, who have found their pupils unready to participate and uninterested in the courses; it suggests that much of the needed factual orientation, much of the instruction in educational and vocational opportunities, should be provided in connection with other aspects of the educational program. The greater flexibility of orientation activities and discussions interwoven with other courses and with extracurricular activities should make these superior to special orientation courses.

Factual orientation or instruction can be carried out both in discussion and in activities. Most instruction has relied on discussion, whether the discussion is dominated by the teacher's presentation of prepared material or by the pupils' reports of their observations and reading. Familiar illustrations of this method of group guidance are the texts by Chapman, by Brewer and Landy, in which the world of work and the principles of occupational choice are surveyed. Parsons used this method with groups of young men back in the early days of vocational guidance; we use it today in most occupations courses and in many career day and assembly programs.

The use of *activities* as a means of disseminating information, whether educa-

tional, occupational, or otherwise, seems to me to be more promising than discussion. One of the better illustrations of the use of this technique is the Occupational Laboratory Method developed in the General College of the University of Minnesota, in which students make first-hand studies of occupations selected on the basis of appropriateness to the individual student. But the use of activities for the dissemination of occupational information is not limited to the point at which vocational choices are being made, nor to occupational laboratory courses. School newspapers, aviation clubs, dramatic societies, and numerous other extracurricular and leisure-time activities lend themselves to the dissemination of occupational information, make the information more functional and easier to assimilate than when it is encountered simply as facts about an occupation which may as yet have little meaning to the person in question.

Attitudinal orientation can be distinguished from factual orientation more readily in theory than in practice, but the distinction should be helpful in understanding more clearly the principles and procedures involved in practical work.

To be able to assimilate facts and to see their personal implications one must be open-minded and free from emotional involvement. The facts must be acceptable to the individual, compatible with his self-concept and with his values. If they are greatly at variance with what he values he will have difficulty reconciling them with what the experience of years has led him to believe. When faced with such a dilemma the newly ascertained facts are at first, of necessity, rejected, for they cannot compete with the emotionally bolstered convictions of the past. For them to become acceptable, either they must acquire positive emotional values of their own, or the antagonistic emotions which they arouse must be worked through in such a way as to weaken the barriers to acceptance, reorganize the beliefs and values of the individual, and make the new facts seem compatible with the revamped personality.

It is when the facts which are to be disseminated are likely to be difficult of acceptance because they run counter to established beliefs and values that *factual* orientation programs are likely to be inadequate, and that *attitudinal* orientation procedures are needed. If the emotional problem is one which involves primarily social attitudes and values, participation in attitudinal orientation activities or discussion may be sufficient to effect a change of orientation, for then the attitudes and values of the group are made clear and are brought to bear on the individual. But if the values and attitudes are more personal than social in origin and reference, orientation experiences may not suffice. An illustration will be helpful in making clear the differences between factual and attitudinal orientation.

Let us suppose that Johnny, a boy nine or ten years of age, brought up in a typical middle class community, hears a discussion of the value of a college education. The probability is that he will not be much involved personally himself, unless his parents have done an unusual amount of indoctrination. When he learns that one must go to college to be a lawyer or a doctor, but that one can be a big league baseball player or a deep sea diver without such an education, he is most likely to conclude that college is a good thing for some folks, but a waste of time for others. His own college-going aspirations will remain vague. His attitude toward a higher education is left in a malleable state, thanks to his recognition of the fact that college is desirable for some but unimportant for others. He can still assimilate facts about the advantages and disadvantages of a college education, provided, of course, that he is interested enough to attend to the facts.

But now let us assume that this same Johnny is 17 years old, and that his parents have for several years been talking in terms of his going to a highly selective college. In an orientation course he is confronted with the half-suspected but not fully recognized fact that his grades are not up to the standard required by that college, and that his

scholastic aptitude test scores are so low as to make it unlikely that he could attain the required academic level. At this stage, and under these circumstances, these facts have emotional significance which make them difficult for him to assimilate, simple and clear though they are. With his and his parents' hearts set on Siwash, and with his best friend already accepted there, not to be able to go to Siwash is an emotionally toned fact which he has difficulty in accepting. But this is a fact which is made acceptable or unacceptable largely by what people think. The relevant values are primarily social in origin and significance: Siwash is tops among colleges, Johnny wants to be thought tops, and so Johnny wants to go to Siwash. The fact that Johnny may not be able to get into Siwash is discussed in the orientation class. As the class is attitude-conscious, and the teacher is aware that he is dealing with facts which may have emotional significance, Johnny's disappointment becomes manifest and the implications of these facts for him are discussed. Several new facts and attitudes emerge: the class thinks that a number of other colleges are really about as good as Siwash, Johnny's record is good enough so that he could probably be admitted to some of these other colleges, and several respected local citizens, all of them considered tops by the class, went to these less selective colleges. Supported by the group's interest in his plans, finding that the group considers other colleges acceptable and status-giving, and made newly aware of the fact that others have achieved status without going to Siwash, Johnny finds it relatively easy to scale down his college ambitions. The group has given a positive emotional tone to facts to which, unwittingly, it had in the past given a negative emotional tone. In this example the attitudinal orientation method used was group *discussion*, discussion not so much of Johnny and of Johnny's problems, but rather of colleges and of people who went to them. The facts dealt with in attitudinal orientation are more social than personal.

Such emotionally toned facts can be dealt

with, not only in group discussion, but also in group *activities*. Several experiments have shown that nursery-school children and college students can be changed from shy, self-conscious individuals to self-confident, social persons by giving them a social skill and some success in group activities. Encouraged by their limited success, they move on to more extensive activity and greater socialization; finding that their more social selves are liked and welcomed by others, they extend the social self until it incorporates most of the self. The aphorism that "Nothing succeeds like success" constitutes popular recognition of the effectiveness of successful participation in group activities as a method of attitudinal orientation. In the fact that the converse should also be true, that "Nothing fails like failure," we have perhaps the explanation of why so many group-work and student-activity programs fail to help some individuals who are directed to them. The insecure and unsocialized person enters the new group awkwardly, without the emotional support which he hoped to find there and which the preoccupied group leader is unable to give him; he thus alienates the other members of the group instead of winning their support. Failing at the start, he soon drops out of the group. If, on the other hand, the person in question is able to establish some sort of relationship with one or more members of the group, he enters into it, engages in its activities, becomes aware of its values, assimilates its attitudes and makes them a part of his own. Successful identification with the group results in the patterning of the self after the group in many important ways.

But there are other ways in which group activities can contribute to the attitudinal orientation of the individual. The person who is already a member of a group, and who with it visits industrial plants, housing projects, slum areas, or art exhibits, carries away with him impressions of group evaluations of things that have been seen and heard, and these group evaluations help to modify his own attitudes and values. The student who helps plan a dance, copes with

a problem of ethics in a student government meeting, or works with others in designing the sets of a play, submits to the influence of group experience in which the attitudes and values of his colleagues are forcibly brought to bear on him. Emotional maturation and socialization should be the effect of such experiences on those who are sufficiently self-directing and self-integrating to assimilate them and to use them constructively.

This brings up a point which should be emphasized again in concluding this outline of what I have called orientation techniques, both factual and attitudinal: the use of group orientation techniques involves the assumption that the individual members of the group are sufficiently self-directing and self-integrating to assimilate new facts, even when these are emotionally unacceptable. While attitudinal orientation in group discussion gives the individual some help in this process, by letting him express his feelings and by bringing to bear on him social evaluations of which he was not fully aware, it is still up to the individual to understand his own feelings and to assess those of the group. It seems logical to expect that, when the attitudes and values surrounding an emotional problem are more personal than social, the individual in question will not be able to solve them with no more help than is given by attitudinal orientation. Group support and shared experiences will not produce the release of tension, self-acceptance, and insights which are needed.

Therapy.—Group therapeutic or counseling procedures have been developed as a means of meeting needs which could not be met by group orientation methods, but their origin was actually not in the school, the college, or the group-work agency, but rather in the mental hygiene clinic and the mental hospital. It was the inability to devote the needed time to therapeutic work with individuals that suggested group therapy, rather than any consciousness of the unmet needs of individuals participating in group orientation programs. Perhaps the failure of group orientation methods to lead

to the development of group counseling was due to the fact that those responsible for the former were either teachers or teachers turned counselors, and that group work to them seemed synonymous with instruction, however progressive its methods. To the clinicians, however, group methods did not mean instruction. Instead, they meant the adaptation of the techniques of individual counseling to use with groups. Group therapy was the natural result, first in the form of group discussion, and then in the form of group activity.

Group Discussion has been used to provide group therapy in a number of different forms. A useful classification of these seems to be that of Cathartic-Supportive Group Therapy, Nondirective Group Therapy, Group Development, and Interpretive Group Therapy, arranged in ascending order of directiveness.

Perhaps *Cathartic-Supportive Group Therapy* should be singled out as one group-guidance method which has generally not originated in the clinic or hospital, but rather in the religious revival. It is one of the methods of various cults and groups which have cultivated catharsis in the public confessional and absolution through confession to the group. Direction is given to the therapy by the cult, which specifies the types of sins which should be confessed, the time, place, and method of catharsis, and the means by which the group expresses its emotional support of the penitent, whether in the revivalistic form of "halleluiyahs" or the Buchmanite form of invitations to high-class houseparties. But the treatment is largely through permitting the free expression of certain types of anxieties, accepting the individual no matter how reprehensible his problems, and an example of faith and fervor with its accompanying power of suggestion.

One of the newest forms of therapeutic discussion is *Nondirective Group Therapy*, which got off to a rapid start during World War II when a number of Rogers' students were assigned to rehabilitation work with

combat fatigue patients in military hospitals, at a time when nondirective counseling theory was just beginning to command widespread attention. As in the counseling of individuals, the nondirective group method consists of acceptance, reflection, and clarification of feeling, and reliance upon the integrative forces in the individual to lead him to assume responsibility for working through his problems in the permissive atmosphere of the therapeutic relationship. Apparently almost any group of people of roughly similar age and educational status interested in improving their own adjustment can form a therapeutic group, using almost any emotionally toned topic for discussion. Thus, groups of graduate students have met once a week for therapeutic sessions around the topic of anti-semitism, and found that in the process of exploring their feelings on this issue they laid bare their concepts of themselves and of their role in society, discussed their values and objectives in relation to those of other persons, and worked through their feelings toward a variety of other people.

What is commonly referred to as *Group Development*, including *Group Dynamics*, might more accurately be called *Group Interaction Therapy*, for the basic principal of this type of group therapy seems, to an outsider who has not had the experience of going to Bethel, to be that understanding one's own behavior in a group results in insight and in the modification of attitudes. The key technique is the recording of the types and amounts of personal interaction in the group, and the discussion of the nature of the group process as it has unfolded in the group in question. The group first behaves, while discussing some other problem or engaging in some cooperative behavior; while this is going on its behavior is recorded, to show the type and amount of participation of each member; and later a summary of this record is reviewed by the group, so that it may see itself and its components objectively. The effect is apparently rather like that of hearing a recording of

one's own voice for the first time, or seeing oneself in a mirror after a long period of illness involving physical changes. The opportunity to discuss these glimpses of oneself as seen through impersonal eyes, with a sympathetic group which is having the same experience, produces new insights into one's behavior and new feelings of solidarity with others, which themselves modify behavior.

Most difficult to describe, because it includes a number of different types of therapy, is *Interpretive Group Therapy*, perhaps the oldest category among the psychiatric and psychological group therapies. The common principle is to help the members of the group to develop new insights into their own behavior through the interpretations of the trained leader and of the group members, supported not only by the acceptance of the leader but also by the feeling of solidarity engendered in some types of troubled persons by being one of a group of persons working toward a common goal. The variations in method consist largely of the type of interpretations offered to patients (depending on the systematic leanings of the leader), and of the freedom with which interpretations are offered (perhaps more a matter of the individual leader than of any school of psychotherapy).

In all four types of group discussion for psychotherapeutic purposes several common elements appear. These are: (1) the opportunity to discuss one's problems freely in a group made sympathetic by an awareness of the fact that they too have comparable problems; (2) the feeling of support from and of oneness with others; (3) the clarification of feeling, whether as the result of reflection or of interpretation; (4) the development of insight, whether as the result of taking responsibility for working through one's feelings or of interpretation; and, (5) the feeling of ability to face life's problems which comes from having put them into words and achieved an understanding of both one's own feelings toward them and of the attitudes of a number of other persons.

Group Activity for definite therapeutic

purposes seems to have been tried largely through the psychodrama and role playing. The basic assumption in the *psychodrama* is that in the make-believe world of the stage the individual can express his needs and his reactions to pressures and that this cathartic release of tension will make possible better insight. There is also the assumption that constructive forces will then come into play, and that letting them direct the individual's action on the stage will provide him with the opportunity to develop and to understand his hitherto submerged but more positive self.

This second principle led to the development of *role playing* as a somewhat distinct activity method of group therapy. The client or patient is assigned a role to play on the stage, instead of being left to devise his own role as the action progresses. This set role may be chosen by the therapist directing the role playing, in an attempt to help crystallize a self-concept which appears to be emerging in the patient; it may be chosen by the counselor and client together, the choosing itself being a part of the therapeutic process; or it may be allocated to the individual by the group, as together they plan the roles to be played by each member of the group. In this last case group discussion merges with group activity as a therapeutic technique, the group playing an active part in developing the role of the member, but the leader also playing a part in order to protect the individual from having a harmful role assigned to him. Once the role has been chosen, by whatever method, it is then up to the individual to develop it in action on the stage. The way in which he does this is usually criticized by the group afterwards, thus giving him an opportunity to see how well he has taken on the characteristics of the role. Practicing the new character is presumed to leave a permanent impression on the personality of the actor. The presumption is made plausible by the postulate that the role enacted is one which gives play to traits and values which are emerging and becoming dominant in the personality of the client.

As our bird's eye view of group-guidance methods has taken in a variety of techniques, it may be well to enumerate them again at this point. They are as follows:

<i>Orientation</i>	<i>Therapy</i>
Factual	Discussion
Discussion	Cathartic-Supportive
Activities	Nondirective
Attitudinal	Group Development
Discussion	Interpretive
Activities	Activities
	Psychodrama
	Role Playing

Our next questions are, what are the limitations which seem inherent in these methods, and what is their place in the total program of guidance services?

LIMITATION OF GROUP METHODS

The most important limitation inherent in group orientation procedures stems from the assumption that orientation results in adjustment. That this assumption is not always warranted has been shown for vocational guidance by the studies of the General College at the University of Minnesota, where Stone found that occupations courses did not appreciably improve the educational-vocational adjustment of students unless they were combined with counseling which assisted the student in applying to his own case the facts and attitudes to which he was exposed. It has also been shown in studies such as those of Kefauver and Hand, who reported for example that the percentage of low-ability pupils in junior high school aspiring to go to college was increased, rather than decreased, by exposure to a course in educational and occupational opportunities. From findings such as these we are probably warranted in concluding that only the better-adjusted, more insightful, and more self-directing individuals are able to profit much from group guidance which consists largely of the dissemination of facts, if these facts

are presented to them at a time when they have already had the opportunity to build up emotionalized attitudes concerning the topics in question. Provision of opportunity to discuss the personal implications of newly ascertained facts, and the airing of attitudes by group members, so as to permit individuals to reorganize their attitudes and values in the light and with the support of group thinking, seems likely to be helpful when the attitudes and values in question are more social than personal, but not when they are highly personal and deeply imbedded in the experience of the individual.

In such instances therapeutic rather than orientational methods are called for. But what are the limitations which seem to be inherent in group therapeutic methods? Because of the newness of these techniques, interest in which was limited until the War gave them new importance, relatively little is known on this subject. We are still in the stage of exploring their *possibilities*; awareness of their *limitations* will only come later. But one might hazard a guess as to what they will prove to be. I suspect that group therapy will prove to be effective only when the group is relatively homogeneous in educational attainment and when the individuals constituting the group are persons in whom the homeostatic or integrating force is strong, in whom the need for group support is real, and in whom the more pressing adjustment problems involve *interpersonal* relations rather than *intrapersonal* relations. That is, they will be persons who are best described in the terms of an Adlerian, a Freudian, or a Rankian, rather than of a Jungian, psychology.

THE PLACE OF GROUP METHODS IN A GUIDANCE PROGRAM

Having surveyed the various major types of group guidance and considered their limitations, we should now make an attempt to relate them to each other and to other types of guidance services, in order to see

how they fit into a guidance program in an educational institution, a group work agency, or a guidance center. I assume that we are not concerned here with psychotherapy of the more thorough-going sort, nor with the guidance services of mental institutions.

Orientation programs are primarily a function of schools and colleges. Most *factual* orientation work should be integrated with the curriculum, giving students the facts that they need in order to develop legitimate vocational aspirations and sound social attitudes before vocational and social problems become so acute that information cannot effectively be used. As there will inevitably be times in the educational, vocational, and social development of young people at which choices need to be made, and as facts assume a new significance at those points, there is a place for formal orientation activities in educational institutions and in group-work agencies. There is a place for them also in guidance centers which work with people who have no group affiliations and whose orientation problems are closely related to problems on which they are receiving individual counseling. As the need to make decisions heightens the emotional value of facts, formal orientation activities provided at the choice points of development need to be not only factual, but also *attitudinal*. There must be time for members of the group to express their attitudes toward the facts encountered, to work through their related feelings, and to modify their attitudes to make them fit the facts.

Group development and nondirective group therapy seem to me to be techniques which are also appropriate for use with persons who are going through the normal processes of personal development. Late adolescence and early adulthood are periods in which a process of integration is taking place in the individual; it is in these years that he crystallizes, tests out, and revises concepts of himself in relation to other persons, and it is in these years also that internal

forces are being organized and synthesized into a more or less integrated personality. The methods of group dynamics appear promising for use with persons who are not completely socialized and who want help in understanding their own roles in relation to other people, so that they may modify their social behavior and be more effective in interpersonal relations. I suspect that we shall find that this approach is most appropriate for persons of post-college age, is usable with many college students, and is definitely less appropriate at the high-school level, for it must require a substantial degree of maturity and insight to profit from a picture of one's behavior in a group.

Nondirective group therapy, on the other hand, should prove useful with high-school age boys and girls as well as with older persons. The technique has been used in college teaching, and may well be adaptable to courses and activities designed to have character-building values with boys and girls of high-school age. It may prove to be the technique par excellence of Hi-Y discussion groups, Sunday school classes, orientation courses dealing with problems of social behavior, and other groups in which an attempt is being made to help adolescents and young adults to achieve self-integration. By providing a permissive situation in which they can express and work through their feelings on problems of importance, discussion groups using nondirective techniques should be able to reach many people who would never see a personal counselor or who could not be served by one if they did seek him out.

Role playing is another method of group therapy which has shown signs of being useful in educational institutions and in guidance centers. It can be used in helping young people to learn social skills and to acquire confidence in social situations, whether the skill be asking a girl to dance or applying for a job; it can be helpful in coaching group leaders, in inducting salesmen, and in training vocational counselors. Role playing in-

volves trying out skills, exercise in putting an emerging self-concept into practice; it involves converting ideas about one's behavior into concrete, criticizable action. It can be used at almost any age level, and in connection with a great variety of needs and problems.

The psychodrama and interpretive group therapy are, I believe, more likely to remain useful with individuals who are more disturbed, more inhibited, and less socialized than those most of us are likely to spend much time with in schools, colleges, group-work organizations, and guidance centers. These are more peculiarly clinical techniques, useful in the clinic and in the hospital.

Before concluding this discussion, a few words should be devoted to the relative emphasis which one might expect to find placed on group and individual techniques in a guidance program. One might even ask, is it at all likely that group guidance can meet

the needs of the great majority of students and adults, leaving individual counseling for special cases only?

I think the answer to this question must be in the negative, for while group methods can do a great deal of preventive work, and can even do a great deal of creative work, I think it will always be true that most people can benefit from opportunities to discuss their attitudes, aspirations, and plans with a sympathetic listener who has special skill in clarifying issues and who has a perspective on problems and opportunities such as come only with professional training and experience. A good program of group-guidance services should forestall the development of some problems, should assist in the growth of better integrated personalities, improve personal, social and occupational orientation, and finally, should render people better able to make effective use of personal and vocational counseling services when and as they are needed.

GROUP PROCEDURES IN GUIDANCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Work with groups forms a part of the secondary school program. Many guidance workers assume that group work with students forms a definite part of the school's guidance program. Recent books by Hopcock and by Wright point up the possible significance of group procedures in the school guidance program. Both books indicate that secondary schools are using group procedures. But there is need for information as to the extent to which secondary schools are utilizing the procedures. In response to that need, the Chairman of the Di-

vision of Individual Appraisal, Counseling, and Instruction of the National Vocational Guidance Association appointed the writers to conduct a brief survey of members of the NVGA who are counselors and directors of guidance in secondary schools to determine the extent to which secondary schools utilize various group procedures in their guidance programs. . . .

The investigation involved the use of a one-page questionnaire entitled "Survey of Group Procedures Used in Guidance in the Secondary School." Directions for comple-

[From P. C. Polmantier and G. E. Clark, "Group Procedures in Guidance in Secondary Schools," *Occupations*, 29 (1952): 492-495. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

ing the questionnaire requested that the respondent report concerning the secondary school in which he was employed. There were two parts to the questionnaire, namely: checking "yes" or "no" as to the secondary school's use of each of 27 listed group procedures claimed in guidance literature to have possibilities in a school guidance program; and for each procedure checked "yes," either to send an accompanying brief description showing who initiates the procedure, who participates in its use, and how it is related to the school's guidance program; or to send mimeographed or printed materials pertaining to the use of the procedure in the secondary school. The questionnaire was sent to 500 members of NVGA who were listed in the *National Vocational Guidance Association Yearbook, 1948-1949* as either directors of guidance or counselors in high schools. There were 197 of these persons, representing 36 states and the District of Columbia, who responded to the questionnaire. In completing the questionnaire 83.25 percent of the respondents provided explanations of the use of the procedures in their schools, as well as checking "yes" or "no" for the procedures. These explanations took the form of descriptive statements or printed or mimeographed materials attached to the questionnaire. The remaining respondents (16.75 percent) merely indicated whether or not the procedures were used in their schools.

TABLE I presents a summary of the data concerning the extent to which the 197 respondents indicated "yes" as to the use in their schools of each of the 27 procedures listed in the questionnaire. The procedures are ranked according to the extent of their claimed usage. As can be seen in TABLE I, the top five group procedures are: 1. Use of Audio-visual Aids; 2. Assembly Programs; 3. Group Advisement on Students' Programs of Studies; 4. Homeroom, and 5. Student Group Visits to Business and Industries. TABLE II presents a list of additional group procedures mentioned by respondents as being used in their schools.

The list is for the reader's information and will not be discussed in this paper.

It has been difficult to analyze and pull together the data contained in the brief descriptions and the mimeographed or printed materials submitted by respondents. Nevertheless, the following summary statements concerning use of the 27 group procedures seem to be warranted. Each of the first four group procedures listed in TABLE I is discussed separately, while the remaining 23 are placed into five logical categories and treated by categories.

USE OF AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

Respondents indicated much use of audio-visual aids in the secondary schools. Their use is initiated by guidance workers, teachers, homeroom teachers, and the various administrative heads of the school. Participation in their use extends from students of all classes to specific programs of films, slides, and other aids for use with groups of students interested in particular vocations, and for use with all students in dealing with occupational information and educational and vocational planning.

ASSEMBLY PROGRAMS

Assembly programs are utilized in guidance in many high schools. Students are active in planning and carrying out assembly programs through their student government organizations. Counselors and directors of guidance are working with school-wide and local community committees to make assembly programs profitable to the students. All students participate, while the programs relating to guidance generally have speakers, audio-visual aids, and group participants. Emphasis seems to be upon disseminating occupational information, information concerning student adjustment and growth, how to get along in social groups, and what the school offers the student in actual living experiences.

TABLE I

EXTENT TO WHICH RESPONDENTS REPORTED "YES" AS TO THE USE OF THE PROCEDURES LISTED IN THE STUDY

<i>Rank of the Procedure</i>	<i>Procedure</i>	<i>Number of Respondents Reporting "Yes"</i>	<i>Percentage of Respondents</i>
1	Use of Audio-visual Aids	158	80.2
2	Assembly Programs	156	79.2
3	Group Advisement on Students' Programs of Studies	150	76.1
4	Homeroom	138	70.1
5	Student Group Visits to Business and Industries	133	67.3
6	Group Preparation of School Handbook	99	50.3
7	Occupational Conference (not a career day)	98	49.8
8	College Conference (not a college day)	97	49.2
9	Career Day	85	43.2
10	Student Group Visits to College	80	40.6
11	Student Group Project and Study of Follow-up Data Concerning Graduates	78	39.6
12	College Day	60	30.5
13½	Course in High School Orientation	56	28.4
13½	Student Group Visits to Business Schools and/or Trade Schools	56	28.4
15	Business and/or Trade School Conference (not a Business and/or Trade School Day)	51	25.9
16	Occupations Course	48	24.4
17	Psychology Course	41	20.8
18	Group Guidance Course	34	17.3
19	Common Learnings Class	32	16.2
20	Self-appraisal and Careers Course	29	14.7
21	Career Club	26	13.2
22	Course in Selection of a College	25	12.7
23½	Course in Planning for a Career	23	11.7
23½	Business and/or Trade School Day	23	11.7
25	Group Therapy	21	10.7
26	Case Conference Conducted by Students	19	9.6
27	Mental Hygiene Course	16	8.1

GROUP ADVISEMENT ON STUDENTS' PROGRAMS OF STUDIES

Initiated by teachers and counselors, group programs are devised to acquaint members of a specific class with the pro-

gram of studies offered on that level. Much of this work is done in the eighth and ninth grades, and it is interesting to note that few of the persons involved in these programs felt that group advisement could stand alone. Almost all of them use the procedure as a preliminary step to individual counseling on programs of studies. The place of

the procedure in the guidance program is to consider educational and vocational planning with the students in groups and then to individualize the work.

TABLE II

ADDITIONAL PROCEDURES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS AS BEING USED BY THEIR SCHOOLS

- Girls Club *
- Home Living Course *
- Social Science Class Study of Careers
- Group Counseling through English Classes
- Group Discussion of Test Performances
- Smaller Groups Meeting with Counselor for College and Educational Guidance
- Bulletin Board
- Grade Meetings with Pupils and Parents to Consider Problems Peculiar to that Grade
- Mental Hygiene and Psychology of Adolescence for Girls
- Mental Hygiene and Psychology of Adolescence for Boys
- Public Address Notices on Items of Group Interest
- Six-week Occupation Unit in 9th Grade Social Science
- Scholarship Group
- Effective Living Course
- Use of Business and Industrial Personnel as Conference Leaders in Individual Classrooms
- Course in Social Behavior and Family Relations
- Freshman Visiting Day

* Mentioned by two persons. All others mentioned by only one person.

HOMEROOM

The study indicates that the homeroom is still being used for all kinds of activities. In some schools it is recognized as almost entirely an administrative device and it ranges in time from 10 minutes to an hour. Where it is used as a group procedure in guidance, attempts are being made to aid the student in personal, social, educational, and vocational growth with emphasis upon so-called problems common to high school youths. Programs are initiated by the teachers in consultation with the guidance director or counselors. However, it appears that claims being made for the homeroom need to be put to the test of evaluation.

COURSES

Information concerning the nine types of courses in the present study shows that five are taught generally in the ninth grade.

They are courses in high school orientation, occupations, group guidance, planning a career, and self appraisal and careers. The trend appears to be that counselors or directors of guidance teach these courses with the specific intent that the class experiences provide the students with educational and occupational information, with general introduction to personal appraisal, and with orientation to school and to vocational planning. While occupying the place in the curriculum often filled by the traditional occupations course, these courses seem to be emerging as required courses in the ninth grade. In the case of the self-appraisal and careers course, one notes that some schools offer a course bearing that title to students in the eleventh or twelfth grade on an elective basis. But for all of the five courses, many respondents felt that the courses must be linked with the guidance program and lead to counseling contacts outside the class.

Three other courses in the study are

taught almost entirely on the twelfth-grade level and on an elective basis. While popular in some schools, two of them, the psychology and the mental hygiene courses, appear to depend for their offering upon the availability of a person on the staff trained in psychology. Open to students who elect them, the emphasis is upon personal understanding and development, social relationships, life adjustment, and preparation for effective living. In schools where either course is offered, counselors and directors of guidance generally teach the classes. Enrollments are usually kept small enough for personal contact between the instructor and the students, and counseling contacts are gained through the class members' interest and concern over their present and future adjustment. The course in the selection of a college is almost exclusively on a noncredit and voluntary basis. Aid in planning for and selecting a college forms a major part of the course. Guidance workers conduct the classes. Follow-up work of counseling and referral attempts to make the course meaningful for the potential college students.

To meet the current emphasis upon Life Adjustment Education, some schools have a common learnings class taught in the ninth grade. Sometimes it is a continuation of other junior high school classes in the school-wide curriculum. A fusion of English, social science, science, mathematics, and guidance, this course calls for much cooperative planning. Although not teaching the class in many instances, the counselors or directors of guidance aid in providing individual inventory data and in counseling students. Largely in the experimental stage, courses of this type are attempts to correlate the school curricular offerings and the school guidance program. This type of course does not appear to be common in the secondary schools.

GROUP PROJECTS

Five of the group procedures studied involve the element of group projects. Most

common among them is group preparation of school handbook. Respondents indicated that the student council and a student-faculty committee have responsibility for preparing the handbook with the approval of the administrative official of the school. It is felt that the procedure provides opportunities for cooperative work, gives students greater insight into what the school has to offer, and stresses the significance of school life for the student. Another group project becoming important has students participating in making follow-up studies of graduates of the high school. Students use the results as a basis for evaluating the total school program. The remaining three projects (career club, group therapy, case conference) appear not to be employed in many secondary schools. The career club, composed of upperclassmen who are interested in a particular vocation, may be initiated by the student council, Future Farmers of America, Future Homemakers, or some other organization or group interested in a particular vocational area. While a number of schools have a general career club covering many careers, some of the schools have specific clubs and conduct their meetings around the topics of major aspects of a certain vocation and information on how to prepare for the vocation. School guidance workers aid in providing occupational information, personal appraisal, and follow-up counseling for members of the club. Group therapy and case conferences conducted by students were found only in schools with well-organized guidance programs, and then largely on an experimental noncredit basis. There is evidence that some counselors and directors of guidance conduct group therapy sessions for groups of students having common problems, of which fear of examinations might be an example. A few schools use the case conference conducted by students. Even though the cases discussed do not involve case conference participants, anonymity of the cases is preserved. The guidance value of both group therapy and case conference is based upon the premise

that students share in meaningful learning experiences as participants.

DAYS

The three types of "days" studied have much in common as to organization and purpose. Usually open to juniors or seniors, the career day provides an opportunity for the student to learn about several vocations, the college day to learn about several colleges, and the business and/or trade school day to learn about several of those schools. The guidance director or counselor generally works out the program for the particular type of day with the aid of other staff members. Respondents show that much is done to make certain that persons representing the vocations, the colleges, or the schools be prepared to provide information desired and needed by the students.

CONFERENCES

Occupational and college conferences rank high among the 27 procedures studied, while the business and/or trade school conference is not so well utilized by respondents. Representatives from vocations, colleges, and schools are brought to the secondary schools to discuss particular vocations, colleges, or schools with groups of interested students. Juniors and seniors usually partici-

pate and arrangements are made by the directors of guidance or counselors in the schools. Care seems to be taken to make certain that the conferences have educational and vocational value for the participants.

STUDENT VISITS

Student group visits to business and industries, to colleges, and to business and/or trade schools are sponsored by many school guidance workers to give the interested students, usually upperclassmen, exploratory experiences in those environments. Guidance workers attempt to determine students' needs in advance of the visits and try to help students gain understandings concerning the places visited. Many counselors follow up the visits with group and individual discussion periods concerning the places visited and relate the discussion to educational and vocational planning.

The writers have attempted to present the data from the survey without injecting personal bias into the presentation. It is hoped that the brief study reported herein will stimulate secondary-school guidance workers to evaluate their group procedures and to encourage further research within the schools themselves which may lead to common understandings as to the place of group procedures in the secondary-school guidance program.

32. SOCIODRAMA AND ROLE PLAYING

The subject of the next two articles is sociodrama, often referred to as role playing. Margaret Clark indicates that there has been some ambiguity

in the use of the terms "psychodrama" and "sociodrama." Warters differentiates them as follows:

Group guidance and core curriculum classes provide good settings for group therapy through sociodrama, which is one form of psychodrama. Psychodrama is a broad term that covers a number of procedures which are essentially a combination of the methods of discussion and drama and are used for the purposes of diagnosis, education, and therapy. Sociodrama is the form used primarily for the purpose of helping the members of a group to work out effective ways of dealing with normal problems in interpersonal relations.¹

The articles selected illustrate some role-playing situations, some of the techniques through which role playing is initiated, and some of the generalizations that are derived from analysis of role playing. Clark's article illustrates the manner in which role playing is used to give a behavioral referent to concepts that are at such an undefined level of abstraction that communication is impeded.

Role-playing situations have the advantage of developing a situation in behavioral operations rather than verbal terminology; for example, if two children disagree on the playground, the teacher, rather than telling them to describe what took place, can ask them to play out their feelings prior to the dispute. Another example is the case of a youngster who is having difficulty with his parents and is seeking help to resolve the situation. One alternative is for the student to describe the situation in terms of his perception of the parents' attitudes and behaviors. The difficulty encountered here is that the terminology used to describe simply does not convey the same meaning to all participants. Terms such as "ill-tempered," "unruly," "unreasonable," "rebellious," or "defiant" simply do not have a common referent for all who report such behavior.

Clark states in her summary that some aspects of the technique are more applicable to clinical work than to the classroom. Much informal evidence indicates that sociodrama, or role playing, is quite adaptable to the classroom situation. The reader is invited to consider critically the possible adaptations to the classroom of this technique as an instructional and guidance tool.

W. J. Greenleaf distinguishes, in the second article, between psychodrama and sociodrama on the basis of participation; psychodrama is a therapeutic measure focusing on the individual, while sociodrama has its focus on the group. He emphasizes the utility of sociodrama as a guidance technique in the school setting, and, as indicated previously, informal evidence indicates a substantiation of his point.

¹ Jane Warters, *Techniques of Counseling* (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1954, p. 370.

ROLE PLAYING IN A GROUP GUIDANCE CLASS

The objective of most counselors is to aid students in self-evaluation, analysis of their problems by themselves, and, ultimately, in solving these same problems without aid. The same goals apply to the classroom teacher, who is in a position to do much to stimulate the growth of the individual.

This paper attempts to illustrate one method that may be used to help students recognize behavior problems, and to aid them in understanding some of the causes of such problems. The premise is that the first step in solving a problem is the recognition of it. The technique used in this case is role playing. Role playing refers to the private and social roles a person plays in his interpersonal or intergroup contacts. Such methods are in use in many classrooms and clinics today. The terms psychodrama or sociodrama are not used in this paper as the distinction between the two was not always clear. The subject matter to be taught in this unit dealt with elementary psychology, but the application was in a group situation.

In teaching a unit in elementary psychology to a tenth grade guidance class the teacher felt that the common verbalizations associated with much classroom work would be meaningless when discussing such abstractions as behavior mechanism.

The text gave a good description of the following mechanisms:

(1) Day dreaming; (2) Regression; (3) Identification; (4) Rationalization; (5) Transference; (6) Projection; (7) Repression.

After a discussion of the textbook material the class agreed with the teacher that the meaning and application of these "long words" needed clarification. The teacher explained that one method of presenting or

interpreting behavior was for individuals to take parts in situations similar to a play in order that the participants as well as the rest of the class could understand the problem involved. This was a new technique to the class so the teacher asked one of the boys in the class to help her illustrate the procedure. They chose to demonstrate rationalization. The skit follows:

The teacher took the part of a teenager sneaking in late at night; she is caught by her father who is waiting up for her. The boy took the part of the father.

Teen-ager: Oh, oh, Dad! Are you still up?

Father: Say, what's the big idea? Don't you know what time it is?

Teen-ager: My watch must have stopped. I must have forgotten to wind it.

Father: Why are you so late? You know I told you to get the car home early.

Teen-ager: It isn't my fault. We went to eat after the show, and we couldn't get waited on; then we had to go over on the north side to take Mary home. I didn't know it was so late, honest, Dad.

Father: Wasn't there a clock in the restaurant? You must be stupid not to know what time it was. You must be stupid.*

Teen-ager: It wasn't my fault—we had to stop for a freight train.

* The student at this point realized that he was talking to a teacher, and he repeated the words firmly. Then he whispered to one of the boys, "I always wanted to tell a teacher she was stupid."

Father: Let's hear no more about it.

Go on up to bed now, and don't ask for the car for two weeks.

The class discussed the mechanism involved, and they agreed that similar scenes took place in their homes with regularity.

The main points in planning the activity for the remaining mechanisms were listed on the board:

- I. Group to decide on mechanism being illustrated.
- II. Group to plan in general terms.
Language should be spontaneous
Dialogue should be free and uninhibited
- III. Class to take notes on procedure
What mechanism is being illustrated?
How well are roles carried out?
What suggestions do you have?

At the suggestion of the class the spectators decided which mechanism was being depicted rather than the group telling them beforehand. The class felt that this would be a test of how well the illustration was done. Two of the activities are presented here:

GROUP I—IDENTIFICATION

Three boys took part in the first group. One of them structured the situation, "Phil and I are boys of junior high school age, and Jerry is the teacher. The scene might be any classroom." The two boys sat down at desks and one started to fold a paper in the shape of an airplane, the other boy watched him. As the first boy finished, the second grabbed the paper, and sailed it across the room. The first one jumped up and hollered. "Teacher, teacher, he took my airplane."

Teacher (coming up to boys): Now, now, boys, what's wrong here?

1st Boy: He swiped my airplane! I'll hit him! I'll spit! I'll spit!

Teacher: Now, Now, calm down.

1st Boy: I'm going to tell my mother.
(Runs out of room.)

In presenting the next situation it would perhaps be well to sketch some of the background material. A great deal of publicity was given in the local press by a feature writer to the activities of the "pachucs." This name was derived from pachucos, a group in southern California who had organized gangs of teen-agers to collect "pay-offs," to administer beatings, and to take part in different forms of violence. The local situation dealt with a few cases that had their origin over a period of several years. These activities were exposed in a series of headlined articles, and caused a great deal of comment in the community. There was considerable reaction among the junior high school students, and it is not surprising that one group used this subject for their project.

GROUP II—IDENTIFICATION

Those taking part: a teen-age girl, her younger brother, their mother. The two children were at breakfast, the girl reading items from the morning paper to her brother.

Girl: Here is some more stuff about the pachucs.

Boy: Oh, Jazzy! Read that.

Girl (reads): The leader of the pachucs is thought to be a girl called "The Queen"!

Boy: Gosh! Like the Dragon Lady!

Girl: (reads on) Their hide-out is thought to be—

Mother: (entering) Good-morning! Is that the paper?

Girl: We were just reading the funnies.
(Hastily turns pages.)

Mother: You'd better hurry. I'll get you some toast. (Exits.)

Boy: Go on—read some more about the queen.

Girl: Their hide-out is thought to be on the outskirts of town. (Lays paper down.) Say! Let's pretend we are pachucs. Here, take off your belt;

now slip your trousers lower down on your hips. (Boy proceeds to fix trousers at "half-mast"; he struts across the front of the room.)

Girl: Now let me see. I'll fix my hair off my ears and put on some more lipstick. I wonder what the queen looks like.

Boy: Like a gun moll, of course.

Girl: Who shall we pick on first?

Boy: How about Snoopy Cain? He's always squealing on me.

Girl: Okay, come on. (They leave, making plans as they go.)

In evaluating this procedure the following points were noted:

1. This activity was done early in the school term, and seemed to do much to establish rapport between the teacher and students.
2. A permissive atmosphere was encouraged.

3. The students showed growth process in that they stepped more readily into new situations. Social situations that arose during the year were: introductions, party and dance procedures; educational situations that arose were: future job plans programming for the eleventh grade applying for work. All of these situations had been preceded by role playing.

4. Many individual counseling situations resulted.

5. Opportunity was presented to evaluate behavior patterns.

However, this is more applicable to a clinician than to a classroom procedure. In this case the technique was employed chiefly as a teaching device; in that capacity it is felt that the method can be adapted to other subject material. Units on occupations and related fields would lend themselves to this type of study. It may also be used with adult groups to aid in working out teen-age problems.

SOCIODRAMA AS A GUIDANCE TECHNIQUE

Relatively few counselors or teachers have as yet used cause and effect in dramatic form as an aid in guiding students. Many teachers and even parents have not yet learned *why* children act as they do. They make little effort to find out the *cause* of a child's questionable actions and correct it, but use disciplinary measures geared to the *effect* of their doings. One cures a headache, not with pills, but by removing the cause. Brooding and resentment over situations have been known to cause stomach ulcers. Educators have not fully realized that failure causes frustration. The effect of failure is

not an incentive to do better work. Failing students naturally rationalize their status, find excuses, lie about their shortcomings, and often leave school because of lack of interest. We know that the holding power of schools is weak.

How can counselors and teachers, both vocational and academic, catch the interest of young people, many of whom have difficulty in learning from books? There must be a great deal of understanding on the part of the counselor or teacher. There must be real incentive, motivation, and self-expression on the part of the student. That is

[From W. J. Greenleaf, "Sociodrama as a Guidance Technique," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 26 (1951): 71-75. Reprinted by permission of the *California Journal of Secondary Education*.]

where psychodrama and sociodrama enter the picture as a new guidance technique. These terms need explanation.

Psychodrama and sociodrama were originated and developed within the past score or more of years by Dr. J. L. Moreno of New York. His work is described in the quarterly journal, *Sociometry*. The name of this journal was changed in 1950 to *Group Psychotherapy*.

Psychodrama is a therapeutic measure used in mental hospitals to help disturbed patients to overcome their handicaps. Psychodrama focuses on the *individual* as a person—John Doe and his problems. At St. Elizabeth's Hospital (D.C.) a special little theater is provided with a permanent circular stage 20 feet in diameter and three steps up from the floor. Twice a week patients about to be discharged gather with a director in the theater to enact their personal problems. One player, John Doe, 24 years of age was about ready for discharge and employment. His "problem" in psychodrama was to find a job. On the stage he acted his own part as job hunter while another patient played the part of Mr. X, the employer in a chain grocery store. The audience used the dialogue that followed for discussion as to the right and wrong methods that John Doe displayed and how he might improve his technique in seeking a job. When John Doe actually applies for work, he will remember his part in the psychodrama and will try to use the right approach in getting a job. If such guidance methods are effective in hospitals, they can be equally effective in school when applied to a group.

Sociodrama, useful in school work, is similar to psychodrama, but focuses on the *group*, rather than on the individual. Sociodrama concerns one's problems with the other fellow. Players are *types* of individuals but not particular individuals. In sociodrama the above-mentioned players would represent *an applicant*—not John Doe, but anyone seeking work, and *an employer*. Each player would portray in his own way a type of individual, but no particular person. Ac-

tion would, of course, vary with every different pair of players, and discussion would center on why they acted as they did.

In school work, counselors go to no end of trouble to try to learn what young people are thinking about, what their interests are, what they want out of life, how they regard their associates, how well they get along with others, and how they develop their personalities. Sociodrama helps counselors and teachers to understand better the needs and ideologies of students. It also gives cues as to the role which individuals have accepted for themselves, how they look upon current problems, and what social relationships they have with others. Sociodrama helps to form some basis for planning activities for groups (classes) or for individuals when something is known about their opinions, experiences, ambitions, and goals. It helps young people to think for themselves in solving many of their own personal problems. It helps individuals to interpret their environment, straighten out elements that are conflicting, and to understand themselves in relation to others. Sociodrama helps a person understand that many of his personal ideas and opinions that he thought original or different are actually quite common; or in reverse, that many of his ideas which he believed to be universal are really quite out of line with reality.

The kind of drama that I am suggesting for school work is entirely spontaneous and unrehearsed without benefit of props, scenery, or costumes. It requires no dramatic talent either on the part of the director or the players. What is said is the important thing. It requires only a few minutes to produce, but those few minutes produce real life problems that stimulate active discussion.

I am promoting sociodrama as a new guidance technique especially for occupations classes, vocational classes, guidance clinics, and various social studies groups. It is equally effective, however, from kindergarten through college and adult classes for

any age group that deals with social problems. Sociodrama is not a panacea, nor is it a daily feature in school. It is a means of whetting interest when interviews and recitations become a weary routine, and a means of practical application of what is learned to real life problems. It is one more means of stirring curiosity, voicing opinions, sparking discussions, and making school work practical through self-expression. Nobody fails because whatever the player says in his role is right. The director does not question his right to say what he does. Any disagreement with what is said comes out in group discussion.

TRYING OUT SOCIODRAMA

The first time that sociodrama is tried out, it is important that each member of the group understand the rules of the game. The director (counselor or teacher) keeps the action moving, but does not direct the thinking of the students. He aims to have every member of the group understand what is expected.

For a first trial, therefore, it is better to enact some home problem, rather than an occupational one. Many students have had no job experience, but home problems are real to each one. Give the group free choice of home problems. Later try occupational problems.

* * *

Director: "This is our first attempt at sociodrama. We are going to enact a little home problem taken from real life. Who will suggest something that has come up at home about which there was a disagreement?"

Problems that a group will suggest are unpredictable. Usually students suggest situations in which they have been denied something that they really wanted, such as: (1) dates on school nights, (2) using the family car, (3) borrowing father's best tools,

or other simple problems that are current in family life.

Director: "Let's vote on which problem we will enact."

The group is given free choice of the problem that is found most provoking. Suppose the choice is the first problem about dates. The director might ask for a show of hands: (a) those who approve, (b) those who disapprove, (c) those who are not allowed to go on dates on school nights. The problem is thus made obvious.

Director: "We will now enact this problem. Who will play the part of the girl who has been asked for a date on a school night?"

Let the group decide on the one to play the part.

Director: "What kind of a girl should she portray?"

Let the group suggest several different character traits for the girl to enact.

Director: "What other players do we need?"

The group is likely to suggest "a father" and "a mother." Let the group also suggest character traits for these players—old-fashioned, hard-boiled, etc. In the end each of the players knows the type of person he is to play.

Director: "The players will now come forward." (They come to the front of the group.) "Take a minute to decide where the scene will be played and announce it to the group." (They confer, and one announced that the scene takes place around the dinner table at home.)

Without further ado the players begin speaking their parts spontaneously. The dia-

logue needs no direction because it is simply logical conversation. Educators are often surprised at the ease with which even the most reserved students play their parts. This goes along until the director ends the scene when there is a good opportunity for group discussion.

GROUP DISCUSSION

An important feature in sociodrama is the discussion of the problem as enacted. Human problems have more than one solution and cannot be answered categorically, because circumstances alter cases. Acting the parts reveals different sides of a problem. Students learn to think solutions out for themselves. By reversing the roles the players get another slant at the problem from the viewpoint of the other fellow.

REVERSING ROLES

In sociodrama we can disregard the sex of the players and reverse roles so that a girl may play a male part, or a boy may play a female part if necessary.

Director: "We are going to replay this episode with the same players, but reverse the roles. The 'father' will take the 'girl's' part; the 'girl' will take the 'mother's' part; and 'mother' will take 'father's' part. Now play the episode over with these changes."

STAGING VOCATIONAL PROBLEMS

After such a demonstration of a familiar human relations situation students have gained a notion of what is expected in sociodrama. From then on, the director may suggest dramatizations of problems in the vocational area, or in any other area involving human relations. Occupational questions and selection of courses of study are readily dramatized.

Occupational choice is a big problem with most young people. Through socio-

drama, a counselor can get at some of the reasons that a student has for his occupational choice and also whether he has adequate knowledge about his chosen occupation. Students can dramatize effectively the statement that—more people are fired from their jobs because they cannot get along with their fellow-workers than because of lack of skills. Pioneers of industry can be brought to life on the stage. "Living newspapers" make current events in occupational fields more real. Problems in technology and science hold more meaning when dramatized. Students in vocational classes reveal their secret ambitions; may tell how they came to select vocational training; and may shed light on their employment prospects. In a one-man sociodrama, the director may assign a student to choose an occupation from the skilled trades and talk for two minutes. The student should then begin as follows: "I am an automechanic (or any other choice) and I like my job because . . ." He would then endeavor to sell his job to the rest of the class and try to recruit workers to his occupation.

In vocational classes or in occupations classes, any obstacle, however small, raises a question that must be answered. Why take machine shop work in school if apprenticeship is necessary to get a job? Can I get a job in barbering without a license? What employment does dressmaking lead to? What is the job of power-sewing-machine-operator like? In sociodrama, the director must use his imagination in staging these and other questions about occupations, and in using the dramatic method as a learning device and a guidance technique.

DIFFERENT METHODS

Sociodrama may be: (1) spontaneous, (2) planned, or (3) rehearsed. For school work spontaneous drama is likely to be more effective and requires less time than other forms. Although the subjects are quite unprepared the director carefully organizes the players so that a problem emerges for dis-

cussion. Spontaneous problems are nearer the heart of the player and the audience as well. The group suggests problems involving social behavior, decides which one shall be enacted, what players shall take part, and what type of characters shall be portrayed. The director merely keeps the action going.

The director well keep up interest by using different dramatic methods and by learning to stage problems quickly by giving simple directions. The monologue technique requires one player to take all parts. Or *one player* can give a soliloquy and verbalize his thoughts and feelings about a problem—i.e., say out loud what he is thinking. Or one player can argue with his own conscience—a sort of double personality technique. Two or more players may present an episode as it happened. Or they may play the same episode as told to a friend after it had happened. By reversing the roles, new insights are given to the same problem. The director may set the problem to be enacted and in this way bring to life study assignments that have to do with vocations and human behavior. Directors familiar with sociodrama will also use other production methods: improvisation, where fantasy is allowed free play in fictitious roles; enacting dream-life; or pantomime, where the player uses imitation, rather than words to express thought and feeling. Different problems suggest different methods.

SUMMARY

Sociodrama is a new technique that makes use of the fact that students often communicate with one another more effectively than they do with adults.

Every obstacle, either social or physical, causes behavior in one way or another. *Social* obstacles are caused by people—a driver may not park his car next to a hy-

dant. *Physical* obstacles are caused by inanimate things or conditions—the radiator of a car freezes up. Persons who meet these obstacles react in a way that can be analyzed through sociodrama. Current lesson assignments in occupations classes can be enacted with lasting effects through sociodrama.

Only a few minutes are required to produce an episode in sociodrama because the parts are spontaneous, unrehearsed, and unlearned. Episodes enacted are acknowledged by the entire group because they are drawn from real life situations. Textbooks are eliminated in sociodrama. Active discussion follows each presentation to bring out what was right or wrong with the problem. Sociodrama promotes self-expression on the part of both players and audience. Enacting problems concerning common needs helps us to understand people and situations. Because of real differences of opinion or values, as in the case of modern versus classic art, music, and literature, we learn that many problems have more than one solution. We learn to appreciate human value patterns that are different from ours. We learn to work on a cooperative basis rather than on a competitive one. Counselors and teachers will find many other values as they try out this new guidance technique, trying it out at first to see how it works, and later perfecting it for use. It is recommended as a periodic but not a daily procedure.

As yet one finds few evaluative researches on the use of sociodrama in school work. However, progress is being made and instruction in sociodrama is offered in the psychodramatic units of several leading universities. At present, therefore, a demonstration of sociodrama is more revealing than a lecture about its worth.

*"All the world's a stage and all the men
and women merely players."*

—SHAKESPEARE

• XIII •

Use of Community Resources



33. FAMILY COUNSELING AND EDUCATION

34. PRACTICES IN A CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

THE school guidance program cannot function in a vacuum. Other institutions in the community are also exerting influences on the development of the child and adolescent. More and more community agencies are being developed to aid children and adolescents. The school guidance personnel must know of these services, of the type of student to refer, of the procedure for referral, and so on. Communication and working relationships with these agencies also demand the attention of the counselor.

It is the writers' conviction that a team approach will ultimately offer the maximal means of meeting the needs of children. By a team approach is meant the coordinate, cooperative action of all individuals and social agencies that are concerned directly or indirectly with children. It is incumbent upon the school guidance worker to take the initiative in developing and coordinating such an approach. In working with students individually, counselors should continually be cognizant of their own limitations and inadequacies, with the implication of referral to agencies and personnel who are more appropriately equipped to deal with cases that extend beyond the ability of the counselor. It is axiomatic that this team approach include the parents for counseling and therapy.

33. FAMILY COUNSELING AND EDUCATION

Can counseling be maximally effective without the participation of the parents of the counselee in the counseling process? What are the implications for parental participation in the counseling process, with its potential for exploring the personal life of the counselee and the concomitant results of the giving away of family secrets and intrusions into family privacy? Does parental participation facilitate or impede successful counseling with students? What are the benefits from involvement of parents? How does a counselor include parents with a minimum of resistance on the part of the parent and the counselee? R. F. Berdie discusses some of these questions in the first article of this section and emphasizes the need for considering the parents' role in counseling.

The above questions should be pondered by the reader as he considers the interpersonal relationships of the parent, student, and counselor. He should consider also the implications for parental participation in the counseling process at different levels of the educational system.

THE COUNSELOR AND THE PARENT

Most counselors work with young people whose parents still are important in their social and emotional milieu. The importance of the parent in the child's development has been emphasized repeatedly in psychological and psychiatric literature, and the theory of psychoanalysis is based primarily upon the consequences of the child-parent relationship. In counseling literature, however, relatively little reference is made to the influence of the parent upon the child and even less reference is made to the work of

the counselor of adolescents as it involves the parent.

In her recent book on counseling, Tyler [6] comments briefly upon how the counselor can regard the parent in the framework of the confidentiality of counseling records. Her mention of the more constructive contact with the parent consists of, "If a parent comes to see a counselor on his own initiative, he can be allowed to talk over his attitudes and uncertainties with regard to his son or daughter, but not

[From R. F. Berdie, "The Counselor and the Parent," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 2 (1955): 185-188. Reprinted by permission of the author and the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*.]

given any confidential information." She also mentions the possibility of an interview with the student and parent together, in order to assist a student with an educational and vocational decision.

In Williamson's book, *Counseling Adolescents* [7], no discussion is found of student counseling as it involves parents, although examples are found in the appended case histories which demonstrate both how parental relationships influence students' adjustments and the need for the counselor to consider these relationships. Rogers and other writers on client-centered counseling are well aware of the influence of the parent upon the child's development as shown by their illustrative use of case materials, but here, again, no systematic discussion of the role of the parent in counseling is found.

In Hahn and MacLean [2] again no reference is found to the counselor's concern with his counselee's parents. In Shostrom and Brammer's [4] book, mention is made of conflicts between parents and children. This was the only book surveyed that contained a further reference to the problem of the parent.

This seeming neglect of parents by authors of texts in counseling is made somewhat more understandable in light of statements made by counselors, often when they are consulting with others regarding counselees or presenting cases at staff meetings. These statements and the neglect of the parent in the counseling literature suggest that many counselors may have but little understanding of and sympathy for the parents of their counselees.

Often counselors imply, or even say, that the root of their counselees' problems can be traced back directly to unwise, selfish, or emotionally unstable parents and if children could be raised by perfect parents or in a parentless environment, counselors would not be beset by so many problem cases. The attitude often underlying statements like this characterizes not only counselors but also persons practicing in other psycho-

logical-social professions. The "mother-blaming complex among psychologists" has been described by Loevinger [3] as "the tendency of an adult to identify himself with the child in the child's insatiable demands upon the mother." Psychologists' concern with the concept of "maternal rejection," with the "rights of infants" (the obligations of mothers to satisfy their children's needs), the research on parents as it had been concerned almost exclusively with their goodness as parents, and the almost complete lack of anything that approaches a "psychology of parents" all serve to demonstrate the prevalence of this concept.

Mother-blaming has been extended from psychiatry and psychology until now it is almost part of our national culture. Professional recognition and popularization of this attitude certainly received widespread circulation through Strecker's [5] and Wyllie's [8] books. Although professional and popular references have been made far more often to the harmful effects of the mother upon the child, practicing counselors often include the father among those most responsible for the child's ills.

This attitude toward the parents of others, particularly of their counselees, may reveal among counselors a failure on their part to arrive at an amelioration of their own attitudes toward the conflicts involving authority.

Incidental data obtained through the use of the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory, the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, and the F scale, suggest that most counselors have more than average sympathy for the application of democratic processes in daily life and perhaps are even less tolerant than the average person of misuses of authority. If one wished to search for a pathogenesis of these attitudes, one could view them as a revolt against early authority figures, frequently accompanied by lack of understand-

ing of those figures and of the problems they face. In other words, counselors frequently may forget that parents are not authority figures because they choose to be, but rather because social mores, family traditions and customs, and individual emotional needs and drives force them into the authority role.

Counselors sometimes mistakenly describe one of their main functions as "helping the student achieve independence" when the student's need is not to achieve independence, but rather to develop mature and appropriate dependencies. The student who seeks from his parent approval for every minor activity and reassurance in every dilemma is in no greater need of counseling than the student who is unable to obtain from his parent emotional support during periods of anxiety and a continuing feeling of being loved by his parents. A counselor's difficulty in accepting emotional relationships in his own life may influence his definition of the "dependency problem."

Regardless of whether or not the counselor's neglect of the parent's role in counseling can be attributed to the method he has used in solving his own problems involving authority relationships, the problem of the parent in counseling requires considerably more attention than it has received if counselors are to assist students to improve their adjustment in a world that inevitably must contain their parents.

NEEDS OF PARENTS

Frequently, in order to meet the needs of the counselee, certain of the needs of his parents also must be satisfied. Many problems observed by counselors involve direct conflict between students and parents. Some of these conflicts can be ascribed to two persons having discrepant interests, values, and attitudes. Some conflicts are due to immature emotional dependencies between the student and the parents. Others are due to inadequate communication between the

parties. Still others are due to inadequate but habitualized, skills of dealing with other persons.

In working with a client, the counselor's objective is frequently to make the client more comfortable in his relationship with his parents. In some cases this can be done only by removing the adolescent from the immediate environment of the parent. Perhaps all too often the counselor thinks this is the only alternative. Sometimes the student can be made more comfortable by being assisted to change his perception of the parents and to develop a new acceptance of parents through obtaining an understanding of the parent's needs and problems. Sometimes the counselee can be made more comfortable by helping him acquire a new repertoire of behaviors involved in dealing with parents.

Although the counselor and the counselee sometimes are able to make significant improvement in this area of parental relationship, frequently significant change depends upon involving the parent in the process.

Parents sometimes are handicapped by what amounts to a simple lack of information. Most parents have a somewhat distorted memory of their own youth and what they do remember perhaps is unique to them. Many parents have had relatively little contact with adolescents and are badly in need of information that provides a norm so they have a frame of reference in which to interpret their own child's behavior.

The recent book published by the Federal government [1] should be of some value in these cases. One father came to see a counselor with the question as to how normal it was that his sixteen-year-old son during recent months had told him very little about his activities and experiences, whereas, in the past, there had been much communication between father and son. Discussion with both the father and the son led the counselor to suggest to the father that this perhaps was a rather normal stage of development through which the boy was pass-

ing, information that made the father and, in turn the son, more comfortable.

Many parents need support from counselors. When a parent is concerned about his child, when he feels he has done his best as a parent, and when he realizes his own limitations as a parent, there may be little more he can do. As the student makes his trial and error attempts to mature, however, parents may need reassurance and support from those who work with their children.

Finally, parents may benefit from the same counseling obtained by their children. The parent who seriously told a counselor he was perplexed because his adolescent son was in difficulty revealed a real need when he stated, "I can't understand it, as I have only two rules he has to follow: first, he has to pick up after himself and not leave things lying around, and, second, he has to do what he is told to do when he is told to do it."

As the parent gains new understanding of his own needs, as he learns more about the use he makes of various defenses, as he practices new skills in maintaining satisfying relationships with others, the behavior of the student should reflect these changes.

THE PARENT AS A COUNSELING RESOURCE

The counselor must consider the parent not only as a person with whom the student lives in close emotional and physical proximity but also as a person in a position to actively cooperate with the counselor in helping the counselee.

Most counselors assume that the more adequate and the more accurate the information they have about a counselee, the better will be their understanding of the counselee and the more capable they will be of working effectively with him. Most of the information obtained about counselees is derived from interviews and from psychological tests. Occasionally reports can be obtained from instructors, residence

counselors, and other students. A new perspective is offered by the parent who can throw light not only upon the counselee's present behavior but also upon his developmental history. The counselee who is quiet and subdued, appearing somewhat depressed in the interview, is to be regarded in one way if his parents report that at home he is hostile and aggressive, in another way if his parents report that he appears to be very comfortable at home, happy with his family, and quite content. A student may report that he works thirty hours a week on a job while attending school and that his employers are quite satisfied and his parents may report that at home he is lazy and does not do his chores and they think he is heading to no good. This variance of behavior in different situations is important for the counselor to know as well as it is important for him to know the differences in perception.

In order to understand the student, the counselor must understand the parent. Usually the student is the counselor's only source of information about the parent, and although the child's perception of his parent is of crucial importance, so is the accuracy of that perception. Watching how a parent acts in an interview when the student is there may provide insight about both child and parent.

More directly the parent frequently has control over the student's physical and social environment. Whether the counselee lives at home, in a dormitory, in a rooming house, or in a fraternity house frequently depends upon the willingness of the parent. Whether the counselee has many visitors to his home, spends much time visiting others, or has a broad or restricted social life frequently depends in a large part upon the parents. Many manipulations of a counselee's environment can be made only with the approval and cooperation of parents.

Finally, parents can provide a source of emotional support for many students, and counselors can help parents realize the im-

portance of having their children learn they are accepted and loved in their family. In other words, bringing to an overt behavioral level that which is already at a conscious level may help the parent satisfy some of the important needs of the student.

SUMMARY

An attempt has been made here to emphasize the need for considering the parent's role in counseling. The parent has needs and rights as well as responsibilities and the counselor must realize that the welfare of the student and the welfare of his parents go hand in hand. The parent is not working in opposition to the counselor; he is more truly concerned about the student than is the counselor. The counselor constantly must be aware of the importance of the parent in the life of the student, he must work more often with both the student and his parent, and he must remember how his own parental attitudes reflect upon his relationships with his counselee's parents.

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In the following article H. G. Ginott describes the efforts of a child guidance clinic to meet the demands of an extensive waiting list by adapting into the regular clinical procedures group methods such as group play therapy and activity group therapy for children, and group counseling and group psychotherapy for adults.

Implicit in the article is the proposition that successful counseling with youngsters must include parental participation and perhaps a great degree of parental counseling. It is common knowledge to counselors and clinicians that in many cases the emotional problems and maladaptive behavior of the parents constitute the single most important cause of a child's inability to adjust. If the child is to be assisted to function at a higher level, then parental adjustment and everyday functioning must also be improved.

PARENT EDUCATION GROUPS IN A CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

It has been pointed out time and again that progress in all fields of human endeavor does not depend so much on the overrefinement of existing procedures and implements as on the development of new techniques and tools. The best arrow does not fly so far as a bullet nor the swiftest conventional plane so fast as a jet.

This observation pertains also to the field of guidance and psychotherapy. Clinics all over the nation are flooded with an evermounting stream of applications. To meet the vast demand for service, clinics have increased either the staff or the case load, but have done relatively little to introduce new tools of treatment or new methods of attack. Only a few clinics have introduced, as an integral feature of service, group methods such as group play therapy and activity group therapy for children or group counseling and group psychotherapy for adults.

Clinicians who are successful in individual therapy seem reluctant to venture into group treatment. Perhaps it is a reflection of the general climate of our society, which does not encourage departure from the familiar, or perhaps there is a deep fear of giving up the security of solutions that have worked well in the past for procedures that are threatening in their newness. Whatever the reasons, if our science and service are to advance we must not allow accepted solutions of the past to hinder the search for more realistic solutions for the future.

The aim of this article is to describe the efforts of one clinic to face new demands with new methods.

Three years ago there were about 200 names on the waiting list of our clinic. Parents who called for service were told, in

a very sympathetic voice, that we understood they had a problem but the best we could do for them was to put their names on the waiting list. When one mother was told that her enuretic son could not be seen for at least a year, she retorted, "By next year I hope my son will have stopped wetting without your help." We shared the mother's hope and assured her that the frustration was mutual.

Indeed it was discouraging for the staff to feel that all that could be done in response to urgent needs was to register them. It became obvious that if the clinic was to avoid the feeling of impotence it had to devise some kind of approach that would enable parents to be *seen* in treatment the year they *called* for treatment. The idea was then born that something other than individual appointments could be offered to the waiting and eager public, on the assumption that any treatment conducted by qualified personnel is better than no treatment.

After much fumbling and many mistakes we have evolved two new devices—group screening and the parent education group—and introduced them as integral parts of the clinic's manifold service. This paper will describe the aims, scope and limits of the parent education group and the basic elements that differentiate it from group therapy and group counseling.

It is almost superfluous to state that the parent education group differs from group psychotherapy. Group therapy is aimed at bringing permanent changes in the intrapsychic balance of nosologically selected patients grouped for the therapeutic effect they have on each other. To paraphrase Slavson: Group therapy through transference, catharsis, insight, reality testing, and

[From H. G. Ginott, "Parent Education Groups in a Child Guidance Clinic," *Mental Hygiene*, 41 (1957): 82-86. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Mental Hygiene*.]

sublimation brings about a new balance in the psyche of the patients, with an enhanced ego, modified superego, redistributed libido, and corrected self-image.

The parent education group's more modest goal is to improve the everyday functioning of parents in relation to their children by helping them to a better understanding of the dynamics of parent-child relations and of the basic facts of child growth and needs. This aim is achieved by sensitizing parents to the needs of children, increasing their awareness of the role of feelings in human life, and promoting understanding of the latent meanings of children's activities, play and verbal expressions.

FOCUS AND METHOD

The parent education group differs from group counseling both in focus and method. In the parent education group there is a definite problem-centered plan of discussion that is focused entirely on child-parent relations. In group counseling there is no planned discussion and the subject matter is concerned with the daily adjustment problems of the adult client.

The immediate aim of the parent education group in a clinic setting is to render service to parents without serious personality disturbance, instead of—or in preparation for—more intensive treatment. We refer to the parent education group those mothers who basically like their children but have difficulty in getting along with them because of ignorance, faulty expectations, or confused cultural and social standards.

The parent education group comprises 20 to 25 mothers who meet weekly for 90-minute sessions over a period of 10 weeks. It is desirable to have separate groups for mothers of preschool children, school children, and adolescents. Homogeneous age groups bring out common problems. This increases the intragroup identification, augments catharsis, and facilitates empathetic communication.

At the first meeting the mothers are asked

to state their complaints about their children as fully as they can. One by one they relate their problems. Their stories are usually tinged either with self-blame or projection of fault on the school, the neighborhood, or the hereditary background of the husband. It is surprising that even at the first session the mothers talk quite freely. Their identification with each other is almost immediate. When one mother talks the others nod their heads sympathetically as if to say, "We know what you are talking about." A frequent remark is, "That's exactly the situation in my home. For a minute I thought you were talking about my child." It is apparent that they feel greatly supported by the tales of woe of the others. As one mother puts it, "Being in the same boat is half a consolation."

When all have had an opportunity to relate their complaints, they are asked to mention all the methods and "tricks" they employ to insure discipline in their children. They are also asked to formulate a reason why their persistent disciplinary measures have failed.

The parents list the whole array of standard measures used either with or against children in our society to insure discipline and obedience. The list include spanking, deprivation, bribery, scolding, threatening, withholding of allowances, and withdrawal of love with scores of variations and embellishments, some original and some ancient.

The reasons they give for the failure of these disciplinary methods are numerous and contradictory. They attribute it to their being either too strict or too lenient with the children, to "babying" them too much or too little, or to the presence or absence of playmates in the neighborhood, etc. When they hear the same reasons given by other mothers, however, they become aware of the spuriousness of their explanations. The one who thinks she was too lenient with her child hears about the problem of the mother who was a strict disciplinarian. The one who claims she has not used but "should have used" corporal punishment learns of

the problems of the parent who spanked the child too much. The one who is afraid she reared her child in "too great freedom" hears the complaints about the overprotected and oversupervised child. And the one who blames all disciplinary problems on the crowded conditions of the city hears of the hardships of the rural and suburban mothers.

When the contradictory reasons are brought out, anxiety mounts in the group. Mothers turn with pointed and often hostile questions to the staff, demanding immediate solutions to long-standing problems.

No attempt is made to answer any of the questions at this point. The parents are informed that the first sessions will be devoted to *understanding* rather than to solving problems. They are told, half seriously, that any "what-do-you-do-when?" questions will not be answered.

THE LEADER

It cannot be overstated that the person leading the parent education group must possess all the skills and sensitivities demanded in all therapists. The leader must be aware at all times of the latent implications of parents' communications and should be expert in what not to say as well as in what to say. This is necessary in order to avoid arousing disruptive tensions and deep anxieties.

During the first sessions the leader takes a minimal part in the discussions. He asks two or three central questions and stimulates the parents to participate freely. His first chance to "lecture" comes in answering the general question: "Why do the various disciplinary measures fail to bring lasting results?" The idea is presented that "one acts mean because he feels mean." Feelings are the cause, actions the result. Discipline that deals with actions and ignores attitudes only deepens the mean feelings and increases the chances for mean acting-out, thus creating a perpetual vicious circle.

DEALING WITH FEELINGS

This seems to be a new idea to the mothers. They have never considered the children's feelings as an essential part of the disciplinary problems. The question they raise next, quite naturally, is, "How are mean feelings changed?" The leader turns the question back to the group. Again one becomes aware how inadequately our homes, schools, church, and culture have prepared people for dealing with feelings. One realizes how afraid parents are of children's expression of true feelings, how quick they are to deny, disown, and suppress them. The total failure to comprehend the nature of feelings is best illustrated in the short sentence of a young mother who said quite sincerely, "I try to spank out hate and spank in love."

We draw on parents' own experiences to gain insight in how feelings change. Through leadings questions and examples parents come to recognize that feelings accepted with understanding and loving care tend to lose their sharp edges. Many sessions are devoted to the clarification of this idea. Each mother searches within herself to answer for herself whether she really believes that a person has a right to negative feelings. For the first time in their lives parents think through these basic problems in nonmoralistic terms and in concepts that perhaps run contrary to all that has been taught to them at home, school, and church.

Parents begin to recognize that children as well as adults have both positive and negative feelings. There is love and hate, jealousy and friendliness, fear and security, and they are all legitimate feelings. There comes a realization that expression and acceptance of feelings is more healthful and more helpful than their rejection and denial. When the mothers fully understand that emotions are better channeled than dammed the group begins searching for methods which will enable children to express troubled feelings in nondestructive ways. The parents themselves point out many ways

through which children can express and liquidate angry feelings.

Through self-derived insight mothers come to grasp the value of noncritical, empathetic mirroring of feelings. Therapeutic understanding and reflection of feelings cannot be taught but it can be "caught" by individuals who experience them. The parents learn to perceive more keenly what children communicate, not only in words but in activity and play. The parents begin to see their children as *reacting* individuals and they become sensitized to the impact of their own attitudes and actions on their children's conscience and conduct.

Parents are introduced to many specific techniques that help "in times of peace reduce times of stress."

At the end of the parent education group an evaluation session is scheduled with each parent and it is decided whether further help is needed.

The most significant effects of the group experience, as reported by participants, were the diminished tensions and greater harmony between them and their immediate families. The change in the participants, as evaluated by the staff, can be described as their greater recognition of children as reacting individuals and a more positive view of their role as parents.

Our experience with the parent education group has been confined to mothers, primarily because the group met during working hours. Many mothers have complained about the difficulties they encountered in communicating their increased insight to their husbands. They have requested parent education groups for fathers—an idea worth consideration.

As a result of the parent education group experience some mothers have come to recognize the need for more intensive treatment for deeper problems. For these mothers the parent education groups served as a rehearsal in introspection and catharsis and prepared them for individual or group psychotherapy.

Parent education groups were started in

our clinic as an emergency tool and substitute service. They have emerged as a method of choice on par with other major services. Parents who were at the end of the rope in their relations with their children found in the group new vistas of help and hope. After experimenting with such groups for the last three years we can state with a degree of certainty that they justify a place on the clinical roster. The main advantages of the parent education groups as we see them are:

—Parents become aware of the existence in themselves and in their children of an inner world of feelings and of its significance in making or breaking happiness.

—For the first time in their lives parents take time to think through and wonder about the right of people (including themselves and their children) to have negative as well as positive attitudes, and they become aware of a new freedom—the freedom to feel.

—Parents learn new methods of relating to children. They become sensitized to children's expressions of attitudes and learn to accept and reflect rather than reject or deny troubled feelings.

—Parents acquire, if not digest, a large body of factual information concerning the nature of child behavior.

—Parents become aware of, even if they do not fully assimilate, the meaning and value of noncritical acceptance and genuine respect.

—Parents learn to be more objective and less ego-involved in their everyday relations with their children and gain an ability to handle daily problems with more confidence and less guilt.

—Parents learn many new methods of dealing more adequately with the specific problems of their children.

—Finally, parent education groups enable even a minimally staffed agency to provide extensive service to the community. Under competent therapists the parent education group can become a potent tool in helping

a selected group of parents modify old attitudes and beliefs, develop new values and sensitivities, and bring about a greater enjoyment of family work and life.



34. PRACTICES IN A CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

As previously stated, one of the antecedent organizations from which guidance derived some of its tools and understandings was the child guidance clinic. P. H. Starr, in the following article, describes the functions and practices of a child guidance unit.

Generally, the child guidance clinic is a social agency that has a separate organization from the schools, and many of the activities described in this report transcend the responsibility and capability of the schools. Relevant to this however, is the report by Costello and Casriel¹ of the Mental Hygiene Clinic in New York City's Morris High School. It is a combined operation involving psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, vocational guidance and employment counselors. A distinct attempt was made there to utilize an extended team approach and it is suggested as an example of adapting clinical services to the school setting.

COMPREHENSIVE CLINIC PRACTICES IN THE CHILD GUIDANCE UNIT

The complexities of the field of child development, child care, and child psychiatry are immense and the permutations and combinations of emotional, social, and intellectual problems seen in childhood are virtually innumerable. In order to meet the different dimensions of their academic,

service and research needs, the larger communities throughout the United States have seen the development of a variety of services and facilities for children, including residential institutions, hospital in-patient units, child guidance clinics, school mental health programs, day care centers, pediatric mental

[From P. H. Starr, "Comprehensive Clinic Practices in the Child Guidance Unit," *Mental Hygiene*, 4 (1957): 44-60. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Mental Hygiene*.]

¹ Mary E. Costello and D. H. Casriel, "A Mental Hygiene Clinic in a High School," *School Review*, 65 (1957), pp. 193-203.

health clinics, well-baby clinics, family and children's social agencies, etc. To dispense comprehensive care and treatment in the face of such a conglomeration of vitally needed settings, it is necessary that we arrive at a clear recognition and definition of the division of labor and responsibility among a wide variety of services for children, all of which are required and are here to stay. This is a most difficult task but nevertheless a most essential one. Without it our practices are muddled, unclear and at best discharged by the questionable rule-of-thumb method. Each of us, working within different professional arrangements, must ask ourselves the two-fold question, "What types of situations are we professionally best equipped to handle? On the other hand, what is the nature of our professional limitations and which situations should we refer to another more appropriate facility?" Those facilities that are unwilling to undergo this self-analysis are in a sense hindering the progressive development of community services for children as well as failing to render optimum services to their clients by offering them second-best arrangements for help.

The child guidance movement in the United States, although in itself an outgrowth of the overall psychiatric and psychoanalytic advances being made within this country, has in turn served as an unusual stimulus for the acceptance of the field of psychiatry by the community at large. Whereas appreciable segments of the population are, on the one hand, somewhat unaccepting and intolerant of the adult who succumbs to an emotional disorder, the emotionally handicapped child can usually be accepted with all his vulnerabilities. This community benevolence has allowed for the mushrooming of child psychiatry over the last three decades in the form of the rapid development of child guidance clinics. As a consequence of the quick arrival of this new field on the clinical scene, we have seen the rapid development of intake, diagnostic and therapeutic practices geared to the

unique properties of the multidisciplinary child guidance approach. It is, however, to be expected that in a field of such recent origin the psychodiagnostic and psychotherapeutic concepts and methods are incompletely developed and in a state of healthy and inevitable flux.

It is the purpose of this paper to chart, refine and extend the intake, diagnostic and treatment concepts of child guidance with the hope of clearly defining the field with particular reference to its differentiation from other facilities that work with children. In the process perhaps we can dislodge both some of the ritualistically routine as well as incomplete practices that occur in many quarters within the child guidance field. It would appear quite likely that the clinical practices lacking those properties of breadth, range, and flexibility can to a large degree explain much of the basis for case failure.

Unless this state of our current professional fluidity is appreciated and fully encompassed, we are faced with the eternal problem of becoming stalemated at our present juncture of development. The clinic that can allow itself to experiment with somewhat unorthodox and varied approaches will usually be able to avoid stagnation. It goes without saying that a primary requisite for therapeutic success is the comprehensive grasp of psychopathology along with an adequate understanding of psychotherapeutic techniques and skills. Of equal importance, however, in the assurance of case success is the establishment of an optimum interview structure and treatment plan tailored to the specific characteristics of the individual situation. This can be arrived at only by a thorough and exhaustive diagnostic process which does not omit any one of many significant areas needing illumination. The absence or inclusion of the latter consideration will, more often than not, determine the relative success of our professional efforts in child guidance. An adequate study lessens the possibility of improper case selection by the clinic or agency as well as unrealistic goal-setting in therapy.

This question of psychiatric and case work failure within the practices of clinics and social agencies has been receiving much deserved and somewhat overdue attention. The investigations have understandably and quite properly focused on the details of psychopathology within the patient or client insofar as they prevent therapeutic progress. Although such an examination of the patient is most important, it is equally imperative that we subject ourselves as well as details of our practices to similar scrutiny and study. This task is much less appealing and quite anxiety-producing, but nevertheless essential. This trend has established itself most conclusively within the specialty of psychoanalysis, where the examination of counter-transference has taken on importance equal of late to the careful assessment of transference phenomena.

DEFINITIONS

GRADES OF INTRAPSYCHIC DISTURBANCE WITHIN THE CHILD

Grade I: Subclinical Disorder

Reactive behavioral, psychoneurotic or depressive manifestations which are short-lived and transiently related to major life crises.

Grade II: Moderately Disturbed

The child with a very active and internalized set of conflicts which contribute to rather continuous anxieties and which result in a reduction of his capacity to function at his optimum. All in all, the child seems to still be able to maintain a moderately adequate life adjustment in spite of these conflicts.

Grade III: Severely Disturbed

This child demonstrates a host of more severe neurotic conflicts with an accompanying set of severe ego disabilities resulting in major problems in its life adjustment (intrafamilial, school, neighborhood). The extent of the disturb-

ance seems to point conclusively to the need for long-range psychotherapy.

Grade IV: Malignantly Disturbed

This child's emotional conflicts are so serious as to have very devastating and seriously arresting effects on his psychophysiological development. Such a child is often subject to severe ego disorganization with or without homicidal, suicidal and other types of severe anti-social tendencies.

GRADES OF INTRAFAMILIAL DISTURBANCE

Grade I: Subclinical Disturbance

The marital relationship and parent-child relationships are essentially constructive. Conflicts that arise are largely situational and transient so that a good degree of intrafamilial harmony exists.

Grade II: An Established Family Disturbance

Parent or parents are subject to significant neurotic conflicts which to a large extent become translated into intrafamilial acting out. Nevertheless, in spite of a good degree of active neurotic conflict the sociocultural and intrafamilial adjustment of the family group still contains some healthy aspects.

Grade III: A Severe Family Disturbance

Parent or parents have serious neurotic conflicts in a very prevalent child-damaging family atmosphere. Both the sociocultural and intrafamilial adjustment is heavily disordered and interfered with. The family is physically intact but psychologically divorced.

Grade IV: A Malignant Family Disturbance

Parent or parents may have problems of a severe neurotic, seriously depressive, borderline psychotic or psychotic-like variety which tends to predispose to

wards severe disorganization and/or emotional deprivation in the children. The malignant family situation is largely unalterable so that the social rescue of the children appears to be the only solution.

Planning services for the child is not possible unless the status of the child's family and the status of the child (its strengths and weaknesses) are simultaneously arrived at. Errors are most frequently made where such a two-dimensional evaluation is not considered but instead the child alone or his family alone is evaluated more or less one-sidedly. Plotting the degree of the child's disturbance against the corresponding degree of the disturbance within the setting in which he exists provides us with the key for arriving at the specific facility or program that is best suited to the child's therapeutic needs. Such cross-checking has not been given its full importance by many people in the field who have been charged with the responsibility of planning for the child.

DIAGNOSTIC PRACTICES

Planning for children who are subject to emotional, social, and/or intellectual problems is achieved most ideally when the clinic or agency has available a thoroughly complete diagnostic assessment. Such a study, of necessity, has to be of a global nature which takes into consideration the multitude of factors which originally created the child's disturbance as well as those which currently contribute to and hamper the child's progressive development. The diagnostic contribution of the child guidance clinic is a unique one which cannot be duplicated by any community agency that does not employ the *direct* services of the clinical team in such an effort. The individual contribution of each member of the team is a specific one, and the pooling and sifting of their combined data allows for a comprehensive formulation that is otherwise unattainable. Most social and child welfare agencies avail-

themselves of either partial or indirect services wherein the psychiatrist and/or psychologist are not used or if the psychiatrist participates he does so on an *indirect* or consultative basis. The final diagnostic products in these different situations cannot be the same. It should be emphasized that there is a vast difference between the integration of direct psychiatric and psychological services on the one hand and their peripheral consultative participation on the other.

It would seem to be most instructive for us to examine in detail the diagnostic process within the child guidance clinic in order to appreciate the specialized nature of its contribution to the community of disturbed children. To begin with, every child admitted who has not had the benefit of a recent pediatric examination is seen by the clinic pediatrician, and when indicated the child is referred for more intensive metabolic, neurophysiological, and radiographic studies. In the average "case" we automatically look upon the child, his mother, and his father as the three most significant family members in need of thorough psychiatric-psychological-social study. The interviews are so arranged among the three members of our clinical team that we obtain a variety of clinical specimens and impressions. Further, we insure the opportunity of cross-evaluation of each of the three family members by submitting them to at least two clinical exposures by two separate clinical examiners.

Our central focus (primary and inherent forces) is of course the child, and we consider him with respect to the following considerations: (1) his constitutional endowment, both physical and psychological, (2) his physical disabilities and illnesses, (3) his adverse environmental experiences and traumata, (4) his distorted perceptions, misunderstandings and misinterpretations of his life experiences. After our initial consideration of the child we then visualize the natural mother or her substitute [which can be termed secondary and maternal forces] as the most important representative of the environment during his formative years, for

it is she essentially who provides him with the physical and psychological lifeline through which he establishes his primary adjustment. In both a genetic and chronological sense, the father and siblings [which can be termed tertiary or intrafamilial forces] take on increasing importance for him with the passage of time. Certainly with the child's increasing departure from the family circle beginning at age 5 his interpersonal relationships within the school and neighborhood become more and more significant in determining further trends in his personality development. In essence, therefore, we point our investigative efforts in the following directions:

—The child is studied with respect to his internal (intrapsychic) and external (environmental, interpersonal) adjustment.

—The mother-child system is studied with respect to the nature and quality of the relationship, focusing particularly on the strengths and weaknesses of the unit.

—The family constellation is evaluated to ascertain the major conflicting currents within the setting and their specific impact imparted to the child. The individualized relationship of specific family members with our child-patient is recognized and some partiality is given to the assessment of the state of the marital union. . . .

To illuminate and grasp these varied but significant areas is a most arduous and complex task. The psychiatrist should come to utilize and welcome data obtained by the associate disciplines of social work and psychology within the child guidance clinic. The time-honored consideration of the team approach involves the three disciplines of psychiatry, clinical psychology, and psychiatric social work collaborating in a mutually reinforcing and supplementary fashion. The benefits of such a professional partnership are clear. Complications in this approach arise largely as a consequence of a poorly conceived framework of the individual role of each of the disciplines. Whenever such a merging of professional activities occurs,

there tends to take place a confusion of the identity, responsibility, and basic contributions of each of the three disciplines. The temptation is a great one to overextend one's boundaries and usurp fundamental functions of the other fields. In what follows we will attempt to clarify the basic contribution of each discipline to the diagnostic exercise within a child guidance clinic.

—The psychiatric social worker's central task is a cross-sectional clarification of the family dynamics so that she is allowed to arrive at a formulation of the family constellation with its various assets, limitations and problematic interpersonal interactions in which our child-patient exists. . . . Such information is obtained by interviews with the parent. Her data can be inestimably enriched by a home visit but for various reasons this practice, unfortunately, is virtually extinct.

—The psychologist's essential contribution is an overall attempt to assess the intrapsychic content and operation of the child with particular emphasis on his conflictual areas. This is achieved by directly evaluating the child, utilizing a variety of test methods.

—The psychiatrist, armed with an overview and a broad understanding of the child and his family, proceeds *selectively* to explore choice areas which seem most pertinently related to the genetic, structural, and dynamic aspects of the child's specific illness and psychopathology. This may be achieved by supplementing and further exploring significant areas already detected by the psychologist and the social worker. Or the psychiatrist may find it necessary to venture into material that has been by-passed by the previous examiners for any of several reasons. His basic purpose is to extract the most relevant material which provides him with a working hypothesis for planning subsequent therapy or programs for the child. More peripheral data which have less significant bearing on the child remains unexplored. The psychiatrist utilizes the opportunity to interview both parents and child in order to effect the necessary syn-

thesis of intrafamilial and intrapsychic (child's) dynamics.

Procedures which deviate substantially from the above lines of exploration result in needless duplication of data and poor disciplinary contributions.

At the conclusion of the study we should have enough data to allow us to set down the following:

Diagnostic category

Symptom-complex
(*descriptive consideration*)

Quantitative consideration

INTRAFAMILIAL PSCHOPATHOLOGY

Grade

- 1 Subclinically conflicted
- 2 Moderately conflicted
- 3 Severely conflicted
- 4 Malignantly conflicted

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY WITHIN THE CHILD

Grade

- 1 Subclinical disorder
- 2 Moderately disturbed
- 3 Severely disturbed
- 4 Malignantly disturbed

Diagnostic formulation

(*qualitative consideration*)

Constitutional and physical factors

Genetic factors

Historical and developmental
(*intrafamilial and sociocultural*)

Dynamic and structural factors

Establishment of a total treatment plan
(*to be discussed in the section which follows*)

TREATMENT PRACTICES

Child guidance clinics are obviously and of necessity child-oriented and as such differ basically from most of the private and public social agencies which are geared to the broad aspects of family rehabilitation. This

implies that the clinic has a more uniform therapeutic approach while family agencies may set their sights on any one or more of several interactional disturbances within the family that presents itself for help. We in the child guidance clinic face ourselves with the question: "Which focal areas of family disturbance and which family members should be concentrated upon in our therapeutic efforts so that maximal results are effected with respect to the improvement of the child?" Thus a total therapeutic plan can be arrived at in many cases by taking advantage of an exhaustive diagnostic approach.

In order to more clearly differentiate themselves from social agencies which are also occupied with helping emotionally-disturbed children, it is rather self-evident that the clinics are expected to work toward more intensive and reconstructive results with respect to their child-patients. It is to be assumed that within this presentation we do not refer to supportive or ameliorative methods of therapy, which are essentially geared to the modification of the problem rather than to any basic alteration within the personality of the child. Inherent in the case work or supportive approach to the parent is the objective of "containment" rather than the goal of basic alterations in attitude of the parent toward the child so that the mother is moved to the point of desisting from any further active interference in the child's progressive development.

More pertinently, we consider that our overall therapeutic focus is on the totality of the child with respect to the various sets of internal (intrapsychic) conflicts as well as his external (interpersonal) conflicts. With the large majority of children and their families seen in the clinic this goal is best achieved by working through the basic problems in the mother-child relationship. This is because the mother, in the large majority of cases, occupies a significant and strategic position in the child's development and consequently has had a primary influence on him. This is our point of departure in the

initiation of therapy, as well as the point of final return during the termination of therapy. The courses are varied and manifold between the start and the end, and are completely dependent on the characteristics and complexities of the individual situation.

In focusing so definitively on the mother-child relationship, it should not be overlooked that other significant, albeit more peripheral, relationships of the child are to be appropriately explored. Nevertheless, in our therapeutic navigation we attempt to steer a course which always leads back to the significant and primary mother-child system, although many varied detours are unavoidable, necessary, and often essential. In the same way, therapy with the mother is much more circumscribed than is the practice within case work agencies. Although an appreciation of her total personality and problem areas is most important, the significant therapeutic work centers on a corrective and reconstructive repair of the relationship she has with her child. In the pursuit of such a goal with the mother, the vicissitudes of her own anxieties and the varied set of her interpersonal problems is inevitably entered into, but the extent of their exploration is strategically geared to only those significant facets which have powerful bearing on her attitude toward the child. Such an orientation calls for a good deal of professional experience and self-discipline since it involves a highly selective therapeutic process. Ineffective and uneconomical work with parents in child guidance arises largely from a random type of therapeutic activity with the adults. Without a sharpened focus on our objectives, at best only partial therapeutic gains are achieved.

In a considerable number of cases, it has been our experience that unless basic and substantial improvements can be effected in the mother-child relationship *per se*, one should seriously question the degree to which the child can be helped. Where the child continues to reside in the home during and following the therapy program, any

substantial gains that may have been achieved may fail to undergo consolidation and instead be easily reversed in the face of highly pathological attitudes still emanating from the mother. Stated in another way, if the mother cannot move into the position of "auxiliary therapist," a child guidance program would appear to offer only a limited and temporary type of alleviation for the child's problem. For the mother to have such capacities, one would expect to be able to recognize that her emotional constellation is such that her constructive attitudes toward her child overbalance her destructive ones. Such an identification with her therapist allows the mother to effect basic changes within the family constellation which convert the child's "residential" experience at home into a therapeutic one. Unless the child is provided with a moderately healthy home arrangement of this kind, it may be too much for us to expect that a 1-hour weekly therapeutic contact can go very far in reversing his psychopathology, which to a large degree may be directly correlated with the disturbed family atmosphere in which he continues to live.

Flexibility in treatment planning is most imperative because no two "cases" (nor two therapists) are identical. Without this elbow room many situations are slated for failure from the beginning. Unless one can match the appropriate treatment plan to the particular nature of the child's and his family's disturbance, therapy will often not "take."

Of central importance in the total treatment planning is the framework of the interview structure. This may be set up variably but is most significantly dependent upon diagnostic findings. There are three significant variables for us to be concerned with in the establishment of the interview structure.

SELECTION OF PATIENTS

Which family member or members are to be included in the treatment? In all cases the child is introduced to some degree into

the therapeutic process. Because of the central importance of the mother in the determination of personality as well as symptom formation in the child, she is similarly involved in the majority of situations. The mother of course need not be introduced into the plan if she has not significantly influenced the child (either in the case of her physical absence during the child's early years or where she has defaulted her maternal role to another family member). In such situations the mother substitute may be included. Where mother and child are involved in a complementary neurosis, the father need not be included to any substantial extent.

Serious consideration should be given to the concept of the active psychopathogenic agent—that member of the family who primarily feeds the family neurosis and by his (or her) continuous acting-out shapes its neurotic structure. If such an individual—mother or father—is extensively disturbed and/or refuses to participate in the therapeutic process, therapy with the child will be of limited value unless the individual can be neutralized through removal or therapy. Until such a step is achieved, it seems wisest to postpone child guidance therapy for the child-patient. If the active psychopathogenic agent is someone other than the mother and can profitably be included in the plan, it seems significant for him to replace the mother in the interview arrangement. In such situations the mother can be seen but mostly on an informant basis and with the hope of using her for her stabilizing influence on the conflicted household.

THERAPIST-PATIENT MATCHING

Which therapist or therapists can be assigned to which family member or members? Therapists vary as to their disciplines and skills, their individual preferences for patients (sex, age, type of problem) and their ability either to work collaboratively with other therapists or to work singly. When

these variations are taken into consideration, matching of specific cases to specific therapists is accomplished much more successfully.

As many as, but certainly not more than, two therapists should be involved in any one case. In our experience, a single therapist in many situations has been able to work optimally seeing both the mother and child sequentially in what is known as the triangular treatment plan.

NATURE OF THE INTERVIEWS

What will be the sequence, frequency and duration of the interviews? These can be variously staggered. There seems to be no good reason to keep ritualistically in all cases to a full hour of therapy contact. Special advantages seem to arise from having the therapist interview the mother just prior to his contact with the child. This fresh briefing arms and prepares the therapist with information that he can use to understand more significantly the productions of the child. Often such an arrangement will also provide the therapist with the opportunity for timely interpretations to the parent.

The following represents some of the alternate plans of design for the interviews:

—The triangular treatment plan described above can be utilized much more extensively in child guidance clinics than has been the practice to date. It has been our experience that many of the taboos against the utilization of one therapist for the mother and the child are not borne out in the clinical trial of this method.

—The four-fold approach: There are situations which clearly need the assignment of separate therapists to the child on the one hand and to the parent or parents on the other. Adolescents quite frequently are seen to be in need of therapeutic privacy, for their struggle often is represented by an intense need to establish their own psychological identity apart from the parents. The child with an extensive paranoid predispo-

sition will often find it virtually impossible to proceed with therapy unless he has appreciable assurance that the feared or hated parent has no access to his secret communications. Parents as well as children are often seen who because of extensive affect hunger, possessiveness, and exaggerated dependency find it virtually impossible to share their therapist.

—The child is seen exclusively with or without the very minimal participation of the parent. From time to time we observe children with a surprising amount of ego strength and an unusual motivation for help who essentially function in a therapeutic situation in an almost adult-like fashion. Substantial therapeutic gains can be made without involving the parent in the treatment plan.

—The parent is seen exclusively with or without the very minimal participation of the child: In preschool children and where it can be clearly recognized that the parent is grossly causative of the child's disturbance and continues to feed the illness, work with the parent alone can often effect extensive changes in the child.

In developing a total treatment plan, a vigorous and resourceful extension of the clinic's influence in effecting positive changes within the child's educational-sociocultural milieu is very much indicated. Active psychiatric recommendations are made for change in his school, neighborhood, and recreational experience in order to establish constructive situations more favorable to his developmental and maturational needs. Such changes act as further catalysts in the therapeutic process. A semi-annual review of therapeutic progress allows for the possibility of change in treatment planning as

it may be affected by newer insights which may have been arrived at belatedly or by significant alterations in the child's life and interpersonal situations.

SUMMARY

We have attempted to outline the role of the child guidance clinic within the family of facilities serving children in any one community. This has largely been arrived at through an attempt to delineate those areas of its efficacy and those equally important areas of its limitations. We recommend such an exercise in self-analysis for all other units serving children as it tends to point up deficits as well as duplications in any one set of community facilities and thereby helps in overall organizational planning.

The specific contribution of the child guidance clinic is inherent in the uniqueness of its diagnostic and therapeutic goals and procedures, which in the final analysis are essentially determined by the properties and qualifications of its constituent staff. An exhaustive diagnostic study involving the clinical team and typified by the child guidance approach would appear to be a prerequisite for comprehensive and total treatment planning. All agencies serving children with emotional, social, and/or intellectual problems would appear to need such an evaluation in order to effect optimum services.

Particular emphasis has been put on the important need for flexibility in the individualization of interview structuring. A goodly amount of treatment failures seem related to lack of flexibility with the result that appropriate structuring of the interview is not achieved.

PART FIVE

Evaluation and Trends



XIV. EVALUATION OF GUIDANCE PROGRAMS

XV. CONTEMPORARY EMPHASIS IN GUIDANCE

THE primary objective of Part Five is to present selections that will assist the reader to evaluate existing guidance practices and to understand future developments. As noted in the beginning of Part One, public school guidance programs are being asked to perform an important social task for American society. To do this, guidance workers must evaluate their present practices and from this evaluation, initiate, discard, retain, and modify according to the need.

Evaluation implies a clear-cut understanding of the goals and objectives of guidance, as developed in Part One, and the specific services, as discussed in Parts Two, Three and Four. Beyond this the evaluator must have both a set of criteria from which existing services can be evaluated and some degree of understanding of the techniques of evaluation. Strikingly little attention has been paid to systematic evaluation of guidance by most workers in the field, in spite of the fact that practically all books dealing with guidance consider evaluation to be a basic part of any program.

Prediction of future practices in guidance may be as risky as prediction of a counselee's future behavior. Guidance workers nevertheless must and do predict in both of these areas. By noting current trends in guidance practices, the guidance worker can make some educated guesses as to guidance in the future.

Chapter XIV presents selections that depict the present status of evaluation of guidance services and suggest procedures that will improve this evaluation. Evaluation of the specific service of counseling has received separate treatment in Section 27.

Chapter XV looks at current emphases and trends which may give indication of future areas of concentration. Many problems demand resolution before guidance services can operate at full effectiveness. They can be and will be resolved by guidance workers committed to and dedicated to the individualization of the school and the improved functioning of its students through guidance programs.

•XIV•

Evaluation of Guidance Programs

35. TECHNIQUES OF EVALUATION

36. FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

EVALUATION of guidance programs is a vital part of any on-going guidance activity, for it is only through a systematic and continuous program of evaluation that the guidance services in a school improve and grow. And yet very little systematic evaluation takes place in our public school guidance programs. This is not entirely due to apathy; it is partly a result of multiple problems inherent in evaluation.

One of the major problems in evaluation is the establishment of a set of criteria and the development of criterion instruments upon which the whole guidance service, or specific parts of it, can be assessed and hence evaluated.

One aspect of guidance that should be evaluated is the extent to which the youth makes realistic educational and vocational choices and plans. The question of what constitutes satisfactory adjustment in these areas must also be answered. Various criteria have been used—for example, grades in school, leadership and participation in social activities, drop-outs, income, length of time on the job, and many others. The task of the evaluator is to determine the relationship between the individual's level of adjustment and the influence of the guidance program and personnel in assisting him to reach this level. This becomes an exceedingly complex problem in view of the constellation of factors that contributes to adjustment and decision making in the life of any individual.

McDaniel has written:

. . . it is quite impossible, in research involving human relationships, to isolate and control variables and to establish any definite relationship between cause and effect. . . . Even in carefully designed research studies in which matched groups are used and certain variables are controlled, there remain many factors that are beyond the management of the experimenter.¹

Problems of evaluation, such as the one just discussed, must be tackled by guidance workers. In Section 27 it was suggested that if each counselor in the field would systematically observe and report on only a small percentage of his cases, a great deal of knowledge would be added to the area of counseling. This certainly applies to evaluation of other guidance services. Initiating and sharing of evaluation experiences by practitioners in the field would be of inestimable value in furthering the development of guidance services and evaluation techniques.

As further stated by McDaniel:

Evaluation of guidance is not impossible, but worthwhile evaluation is complex, and no one method is adequate. Actually, every teacher and counselor constantly judges the success of his work and changes his methods as he sees possibilities for improvement. Continued study of process—evaluation and extensive reporting of findings in guidance literature—is needed.²

The readings in this chapter deal with the techniques of evaluation. Section 35 introduces some of the techniques currently used and some of the limitations of these techniques. Section 36 discusses one of the more popular techniques—that of the follow-up study—in greater detail.

35. TECHNIQUES OF EVALUATION

The rationale for the selection of the following articles dealing with techniques of evaluation is as follows:

The first article, by R. M. Travers, is designed to give the reader further understanding of the specific techniques used in the evaluation of guidance. Coupled with this purpose is the assumption that Travers' critical analysis of

¹ H. B. McDaniel, *Guidance in the Modern School* (New York: Henry Holt, 1956), p. 410.

² *Ibid.*, p. 429.

evaluation techniques will enable the reader to view them within a broader educational perspective than that of guidance services only.

Ruth Strang's article has been selected because of its emphasis upon limitations of the techniques that are currently used. The hope is implicit that careful consideration of the limitations will enable the reader to utilize these techniques in a more sophisticated fashion as he becomes involved in evaluation activities.

The last article, by Harold Mahoney, gives an example of evaluation of an existing guidance service and illustrates some of the peripheral benefits that accrue from an evaluation program.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF TECHNIQUES FOR EVALUATING GUIDANCE

In organized learning situations in education, goals are established, procedures are developed for attaining those goals, and methods are devised for determining the extent to which the goals are achieved. The latter process is now referred to as evaluation since it is used to determine the values inherent in the learning situation. During the last two decades great strides have been made in evaluating the outcomes of education and it is not uncommon to find schools in which serious attempts are made to measure not only the traditional subject-matter outcomes but also outcomes such as adequate social development, the appropriateness of the individual's leisure-time interests, and the adequacy of his vocational goals. However, the guidance movement, in the restricted and specialized sense of the term, has been largely uninfluenced by the evaluation movement partly because guidance workers commonly do not recognize that they, like any teacher, are trying to produce learning and therefore should measure how much learning has taken place, and partly because the evaluation of specialized guid-

ance functions present special problems which will be considered here.

GENERAL TECHNIQUES FOR EVALUATING GUIDANCE

There is no essential difference between the procedure for evaluating guidance and the procedure for evaluating the outcomes of any other learning situation provided by the school. Just as there are two general methods of evaluating the outcomes of any teaching program, so too are there two general ways in which a guidance program may be evaluated. First, a survey may be made of the procedures used in that program with the purpose of determining the probability that the program is achieving the goals it is supposed to achieve. This method has been the usual one for evaluating guidance programs and goes back to a proposal made by Myers in 1926. This is the traditional way of evaluating an educational program and one which is rapidly becoming outmoded in most educational fields outside of guidance. It is unsatisfactory as a tech-

[From R. M. Travers, "Critical Review of Techniques for Evaluating Guidance," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 9 (1949): 211-225. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.]

nique principally because it is valid only insofar as definite knowledge exists concerning the extent to which specific procedures achieve specific goals. It assumes that much knowledge has been accumulated concerning the validity of guidance procedures, but since that assumption cannot be accepted, the survey method of evaluating guidance must also be rejected. It should be noted that the main reason why the survey technique for evaluating an educational program has been largely rejected in most fields of education is that it has been shown again and again that, at the present time, it is impossible to make valid guesses of what the outcomes of a program actually are. It has been found too often that the accomplishments of educational programs are much less than teachers commonly assume them to be. It is of vital importance to distinguish between evidence of the achievement of objectives and hopes that objectives are being achieved.

The second method of evaluating the outcomes of an educational program arises very largely out of a belief that the consequences of educational practices cannot be determined adequately unless evidence of those consequences is systematically collected. In this second method the procedure is that of defining carefully the objectives that are to be achieved, specifying the group in whom they are to be achieved, developing instruments for measuring the extent to which these objectives are achieved, and finally carrying through the program and then measuring its actual outcomes. One of the most striking changes in education in the last thirty years has been the almost universal change from the first method given above to the second method. It is a change from a prescientific method, which is likely to be influenced by wishful thinking, to a method in which wishful thinking plays very little part and in which assumptions are reduced to a minimum.

In all of this change from the prescientific to the scientific method of evaluating outcomes, the field of guidance has played little part. In this respect, guidance programs

have lagged far behind the times and with few exceptions represent the traditional rather than the modern approach to education.

EVALUATING OUTCOMES IN TERMS OF THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES

A major difficulty in obtaining from guidance workers lists of outcomes of guidance is that such workers commonly believe that there is only one possible set of goals towards which guidance can possibly be oriented and that all guidance workers are attempting to achieve the same goals. This is a basic fallacy, for in guidance as in other areas of education, numerous different goals are possible and many of these goals are mutually incompatible with each other. Guidance programs aspire to produce desirable citizens, but the concept of what constitutes a desirable citizen varies from one person to another. Just as the term "desirable citizen" may mean entirely different things to different people so, too, does the term "adjustment" have many different meanings. A person who is well adjusted from the point of view of a union leader may be looked upon as a person in need of psychotherapy from the point of view of a business executive. Adjustment is worthy enough as a goal of guidance but useless as a concept unless it is operationally defined in great detail. Consequently, the statement that the goal of counseling is to improve the adjustment of the individual is about as useful as stating that the purpose of education is to produce educated citizens. This latter fact is one of the major reasons why so little has been done to evaluate the outcomes of guidance and only a few writers seem to have discussed this basic matter. Among the few is Lafferty who has pointed out that practically all school guidance programs now lack clearly defined objectives, that they over-emphasize the sheer mechanics of counseling as an end in itself, that they rely too much on the use of objective test scores, and try to fill too many needs. Tyler, and Wrenn

and Darley have also pointed out that the crucial steps in the formulation of rational guidance programs still have to be taken, namely, the definition of objectives. These writers agree that until the objectives of guidance have been clearly defined that little can be done to evaluate outcomes.

The same kind of difficulties in other areas of education has made the development of evaluation studies a slow and laborious business. As a matter of fact, it was only during the 1930's that methods were evolved for defining educational objectives in terms which made evaluation practical. However, the development of these methods for defining objectives has formed the basis for numerous evaluation studies which have thrown light on what learnings occur in certain specified situations. When the same methodology is applied to the type of learning situations provided by guidance workers useful evaluation studies will emerge.

For these reasons, it is not possible to review evaluations of guidance by listing a series of well-defined objectives of guidance and then presenting the evidence showing the extent to which each objective is achieved by given procedures. There is nevertheless some value in examining some of the evaluative criteria that have been used by various investigators. While few of these studies provide evidence of the efficacy of guidance or counseling for producing specific kinds of learning, they are worth reviewing because they illustrate some of the difficulties involved in evaluating guidance procedures.

Evaluative criteria fall into two general categories, subjective and objective. While objective criteria are in general much more satisfactory than subjective criteria, the latter must be considered because of the frequency with which they are used.

EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

Subjective evaluative criteria of the outcomes of guidance include the individual's own assessment of his personal happiness, the satisfaction which he derives from his

job, the extent to which he feels that his social life is adequate, and the degree to which he feels that he has achieved the goals which he set for himself. The chief difficulty in measuring these factors is that adequate instruments have not yet been made for their measurement and that the responses to the usual type of rating scale are too frequently colored by immediate and transitory circumstances. Day-to-day variations in job satisfaction and general personal happiness are large, and a minor catastrophe may temporarily color a person's entire outlook on life. Consequently, ratings by the individual of his feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his job or his home life must be considered as highly invalid measures of the outcomes of guidance unless they are made on several different occasions.

Other subjective evaluative criteria include the satisfaction which a student feels with the counseling. This criterion has been used very commonly for evaluating counseling procedures. Studies by Mellon, Compton, and Paterson and Clark all showed that a large fraction of those counseled reported that they found the treatment helpful. However, it can hardly be conceded that feelings of satisfaction with counseling can be considered either a major goal of the procedure or evidence of its success. The mere fact that the counselee feels satisfied is not evidence of the desirability of the process. People tend to be remarkably well satisfied with fortune tellers and other charlatans and tend to feel that they have derived much from the association. On a similar basis, one must reject as evidence of the efficacy of counseling, statements by those counseled that they had benefited by the treatment.

An argument commonly used for the validity of counseling procedures is that several studies have shown that students who cooperate with counseling are more likely to be well adjusted on the follow-up than those who do not cooperate. This has been cited again and again as evidence for the validity of counseling procedures, but it cannot be accepted as evidence, for the mere fact that a person cooperates with a coun-

selor is in itself evidence of the ability to make adjustments of a certain kind. Similarly, an uncooperative attitude or a negativistic attitude toward the counselor is evidence of an inability to adjust to relatively simple social situations. Insofar as adjustment is a general factor, these follow-up studies show that those who cooperate with the counselor are going to be better adjusted than those who do not, but this does not imply that the counseling procedure was good, bad, or indifferent.

In general, it seems that the unsatisfactory nature of subjective criteria for evaluating counseling makes it necessary to use objective criteria, but these too must be used with great caution.

Objective criteria for evaluating the outcomes of guidance have included academic grades, income after a certain number of years, frequency with which jobs are changed, the stability of life goals, the extent to which educational plans are completed, and so forth. Some of these criteria will now be examined to illustrate the caution that should be exercised in their use.

The criterion that has probably been most commonly used for evaluating the outcomes of guidance at the college level is the change in the average grades received by the student before and after counseling. This criterion is often based on the wholly unwarranted assumption that a major goal of counseling is to permit the student to improve his grades. With this goal in mind the counselor is tempted to seek out for the failing student the easy courses and the lenient instructors. While this practice may often result in an improvement in the student's grades, it does not result in an improvement in his work.

It is quite obvious that counseling and guidance should not serve the purpose of steering the student through college by showing him all the weak points in the administrative regulations and in the assignment of grades. Such a system serves the purpose of obtaining degrees for students who have not achieved the outcomes which such degrees are supposed to indicate. The counseling

procedure which aims at improving grades by steering the weak student through the administrative and educational loopholes makes a farce out of the educational process for it makes him and others feel that he has achieved something which he has not.

This discussion does not imply that improvement in grades as a result of counseling occurs only when the student is shown loopholes in the educational system. However, it does imply that certain misguided workers raise the grades of their counselees by methods which assume that good grades rather than desirable behavior are the goals of clients. This does not mean that educationally respectable methods of helping the student to achieve more in his work do not exist. Time-old recipes such as those of helping the student to plan a schedule, helping him to improve his reading skills, helping him to choose a program which calls upon his outstanding talents, may all be effective ways of enabling him to achieve more than he would otherwise achieve. Where the latter techniques are used, *one* consequence may be a change in the grades of the counselee.

This discussion serves to point out that changes in school grades can be used for evaluating the outcomes of guidance only when the objectives of guidance have been properly defined and where the outcomes of guidance are integrated with the outcomes of other aspects of education. An improvement in grades as a result of counseling cannot be accepted, without additional data, as evidence that the counseling process achieved worthy ends.

Since many of the implied goals of guidance are long-term matters, the measurement of the extent to which these goals are achieved must also be carried out over a long period of time. For example, much of the work undertaken in counseling is related to the formation of life goals, and it is quite evident that considerable time is necessary in order to determine whether these life goals are appropriate. In these long-term goals, as in short-term goals, there are both subjective and objective evaluative criteria which must

be considered though, in general, long-term studies enable the investigator to use objective criteria.

Test scores are useful only insofar as they can be used to predict behavior in some specific situation in the future. If such predictions can be made, then at least one aspect of the guidance process has validity. Studies of the value of test scores for making predictions over short periods are too numerous to be summarized here. Studies of the validity of test scores for making predictions over long periods are fewer in number but much more significant for guidance workers. The long term studies undertaken by Thorndike and Lorge are the most comprehensive studies of the latter kind. These investigators sought to determine whether tests administered early in secondary school could be used for predicting various aspects of the student's subsequent career. These investigations concluded that although educational guidance seems both possible and fruitful, the correlations of test scores with vocational success were so low that little worthwhile vocational guidance could be undertaken on the basis of test scores alone. Various criticisms were made of the Lorge and Thorndike studies, some to the effect that guidance or counseling should not involve predictions of subsequent success, but the fact seems to remain that if test scores are used in the guidance process then they must be used for making predictions.

Terman's follow-up studies of gifted children also yield data on the extent to which certain kinds of predictions can be made from certain kinds of test scores. In general, the Terman results are rather more promising than the Lorge and Thorndike results but this is probably a consequence of the fact that the Terman study was based on a group of extreme deviates.

An objective method of appraising counseling which is promising but which has been little used is the method of determining the extent to which behavior becomes re-oriented towards more attainable goals as a result of the counseling procedure. An ex-

ample of this technique is given in a study by Abramson who found that those who were not judged to be suited for semiprofessional or managerial work but who planned to enter it would frequently modify their life goals after counseling, but that those who planned to enter the professions modified their vocational goals less easily. There is a real need for studies of this kind which are fairly easily undertaken. Much could be done to appraise both changes in the life goals of the individual and in the understanding which the individual has of his own abilities. Counselors could be asked to rate themselves on various characteristics both before and after counseling. If test scores are discussed during the counseling interview, it should be possible to determine whether this procedure develops understanding in the individual of his own strengths and limitations. However, measuring techniques such as these should be used not only immediately before and immediately after counseling but also after an interval has elapsed. The fact that insight is achieved through counseling does not mean that the insight is permanent.

A subjective variation of this latter technique has been developed by Rogers and his associates at the University of Chicago. This technique requires the counselor to arrive at a subjective judgment of whether the client has developed insight into his problem. These nondirective counseling advocates believe that observation of the client will determine the degree of adjustment that has been achieved. The criticism of this method is obvious.

THE USE OF CONTROL GROUPS

One of the basic difficulties in evaluating the outcomes of guidance is in finding suitable control groups. Control groups are important in the measurement of educational outcomes because they help the investigator to identify the cause of a particular outcome. It should be noted that in order for the control group to serve its purpose, it must be

similar in all important respects to the experimental group.

In the field of guidance, evaluation has been undertaken on many occasions by comparing the behavior of those who received guidance with the behavior of a control group which did not. Unfortunately, there are hardly any studies on record in which the control group and the group receiving guidance (experimental group) were adequately matched. The common tendency has been to match control and experimental groups on the basis of irrelevant factors. For example, one study was carried out in which the investigators studied a group that received guidance at the University of Minnesota Testing Bureau and an allegedly matched group which received no special guidance because the members of the group did not apply for any. The matching in this study was based on factors which had little relation to the purposes of counseling. Since the groups were compared in terms of their later adjustment, the control group and the experimental group should have been matched initially in terms of adjustment, and since this was not the case the outcomes of the experiment become almost impossible to interpret. It is hardly surprising under these circumstances that the counseled group showed better adjustment than the noncounseled group for, by applying for counseling, they had shown that they were individuals actually seeking an improvement in their adjustment to life. In this experiment the only meaningful control group would have been another group of individuals who by their behavior showed that they were actually seeking to improve their adjustment and which were not given personal counseling services.

One of the few published studies appraising a counseling program through the use of an adequate control group is that by Toven. In this study 376 freshman college students were divided into two groups in order of registration. One group was counseled systematically throughout a four-year

general academic curriculum. The other group had the same curriculum but did not receive special counseling. Counseling was undertaken by the usual faculty advisers which makes the study particularly interesting since the professional counselor commonly assumes that the work of the academic adviser bears little fruit.

The results of this study are important. Of the counseled group, 53.7 percent graduated, but of the noncounseled group, only 36.2 percent graduated. The counseled group seems to have had fewer academic difficulties through the two groups had almost identical academic averages during the last three years of college. The main effect of the counseling procedure seems to have been that it enabled more of the group to finish college. Of course, it must be remembered that any group singled out for special treatment is likely to be better motivated than those who fall in the run of the mill. One cannot help wondering whether the outcomes of this experiment may not be at least partly attributable to that factor. However, if the counseling procedure succeeded only in making the student feel wanted and appreciated it achieved an important end.

Another common and fallacious method of selecting a control group is to compare the subsequent behavior of those counselees who followed advice with those who did not. Studies by Webster, Burt, Macrae, Williamson and Darley, McConn, Viteles, Earle, Seipp, Trabue and Dvorak, and Clark all follow this procedure. In each of these studies the validity of the "advice" given was tested in terms of whether those who followed the "advice" did "better" in some way than those who did not follow it. These studies neglect the fact that the person who rejects the advice of a counselor may be exhibiting a basic personality problem which may interfere with his success regardless of the situation in which he may find himself. In these studies, as in the one previously discussed, the basic difficulty arises from the fact that the control and experimental studies

were matched for irrelevant variables. In these latter studies the only basis of matching lies in the fact that the two groups to be compared applied for or were given counseling.

It is quite evident that there are major difficulties in the way of selecting adequate control groups for validating counseling procedures. At the present time the only theoretically satisfactory method of selecting a control group is usually administratively impractical. That method is to provide counseling services to alternate cases. This procedure provides two groups in which the desire for better adjustment is to some extent equated and would certainly provide a much more adequate control group than that usually selected on the basis of rather irrelevant material.

THE SELECTIVE PUBLICATION OF EVALUATIVE STUDIES

Another factor which complicates the interpretation of validation studies is the tendency for studies with negative results to remain unpublished. This is not a result of any deliberate policy to suppress information which is inconsistent with the investigator's own point of view but rather a tendency which Charles Darwin noted when he said that somehow he just happened to forget facts which were inconsistent with his main theory.

The tendency for only those studies which indicate positive results to be published has an interesting effect on the statistical results of those that are published. It has the effect of biasing statistical tests of significance in such a way that the statistical significance of differences is greatly overestimated. It is essential then to interpret published studies with this factor in mind.

Guidance is not the only field in which the selective publication of results biases statistical tests of the significance of differences. The same thing happens in all fields where workers are bound by strong emo-

tional ties to certain outcomes. The same thing has happened in studies of traditional versus modern classroom procedures. Most of those who carry out such studies are vitally concerned with showing that the newer educational practices are better in some ways than the older practices. The result is that investigators show a remarkable absentmindedness about publishing those studies that produce negative results. This is evidenced from the tendency for minor studies to show marked positive results but for the large studies to show very small differences between the groups studied.

PRESENT STATUS AND OUTLOOK

At the present time it is not unfair to say that the chief evidence of the effectiveness of guidance is the subjective evidence which the counselor accumulates as a result of his experience with clients. This evidence has only limited value since it is likely to be influenced by wishful thinking and other irrelevant factors. The difficulty of obtaining objective evidence of what is learned by the counselee has resulted in a paucity of objective evidence concerning either specific aspects of guidance and counseling or the process as a whole. The majority of studies fail to provide interpretable evidence largely because they fail to control one or more important variables.

Progress will be slow until guidance workers come to recognize guidance as a learning situation which can be investigated by the methods developed for investigating other learning situations. These methods involve the specification of the objectives of learning that are to be achieved, the specification of the means of achieving these objectives, the selection of criteria for determining whether the learning objectives have been achieved, and provision for the control of relevant variables. Until more studies of guidance are undertaken following these steps, there will be very little certain knowledge of what guidance is actually accomplishing.

MAJOR LIMITATIONS IN CURRENT EVALUATION STUDIES

Evaluation is a complicated business. It necessitates (1) clarifying goals or objectives; (2) devising methods and instruments for securing evidence that each of these specific objectives has or has not been attained; (3) gaining information about the changes that have taken place in individuals, groups, or community; and (4) passing judgment on the "goodness" of the changes.

The evaluation of evaluation is still more difficult. This is because there are so many kinds of end results and processes to be evaluated—the personnel program as a whole, the adequacy of staff, the provision of certain services, the processes of counseling and of group work. Moreover, these are evaluated for different purposes and on different levels of scientific precision. For example, a teacher may use information-evaluation methods, such as obtaining from students a simple written statement regarding the effectiveness of his teaching or holding a group discussion of the methods used in the course. These suggestions for improving his teaching may be very useful in modifying instruction for the better even though they meet few of the criteria of scientific evaluation. The effective teacher continuously studies his students' progress toward the definite goals in the course.

Despite its difficulty, evaluation of personnel work is necessary if the college personnel officer is to maintain his status. Administrators, the general public and students want to see results; they demand proof of the effectiveness of counseling and group work.

With the increased interest in evaluation in every area of education, methods of

evaluation of personnel work have been improved. But because of the difficulty and complexity of ascertaining changes produced by student personnel procedures, there are still major limitations in current evaluation studies—in surveys of the program as a whole, in evaluation of different services, in appraising various kinds of counseling and psychotherapy, and in the evaluation of group work procedures.

SURVEYS OF THE PERSONNEL PROGRAM

Surveys of personnel programs tend to be either anecdotal or atomistic. The anecdotal type are valuable in giving glimpses of present practice which can be appraised theoretically. They fall short of adequate evaluation in being somewhat subjective—the investigator may select the aspects that appeal especially to him; if his mind-set is critical, he will focus on the unfavorable procedures; if his mind-set is favorable, he is likely to note the incidents that will create a good impression. Almost everyone has an unconscious bias that is difficult to recognize and control.

The detailed lists of criteria on administrative leadership, provisions and facilities for guidance, and in-service education on the preparation and qualifications of the guidance staff, their growth in service; the specialized services available; the guidance and informational services available to students; the counseling and placement services; follow-up studies; relation of guidance to curriculum and instruction; use of community resources—this detailed analysis of

[From Ruth Strang, "Major Limitations in Current Evaluation Studies," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 10 (1950): 531-536. Reprinted by permission of the author and *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.]

the program is very useful in calling attention to the possible scope of the program and to standards in training and performance. It falls short of effective evaluation in three important respects:

1. It is too atomistic—it considers each item separately without much attention to its relative importance and relation to other items. For example, in a college in which the faculty student load was very small, the faculty members were selected with reference to their qualifications for counseling, and the faculty adviser was the key person in the guidance program. The need for special personnel workers would be quite different from that in a college having a traditional subject-centered faculty.

2. The qualitative aspect is neglected. In two colleges, both reporting individual interviews with students, one might have interviews of a high quality, while the interviews in the other institution might be perfunctory and even detrimental. Similarly, autobiographies might be used in one college to help students to gain self-understanding, and in another college they might increase the students' insecurity and anxiety. In one college the cumulative records might be kept up to date and used much more effectively than in another institution. The check list or scale type of evaluation does not supply data on the important qualitative aspects.

3. The effect of the qualifications and services on the students is not known; in other words the crucial question of evaluation is not answered, namely, "Do the procedures we believe to be effective really make desirable changes in students, in groups, and in the community?"

In studying the personnel work in a college, little progress has been made in defining concretely the changes that should result from an effective personnel program. Last year at the annual convention, one large group pooled their opinions on the subject and listed specific changes in student's behavior and attitudes, faculty cooperation, group activities, and in the community,

which they thought should be the outcome of personnel work.

EVALUATION OF DIFFERENT SERVICES

Educational and vocational guidance are two services that have most frequently been subjected to evaluation. Much dissatisfaction has been expressed regarding the usual criteria of success of vocational guidance—number of positions held, length of time positions were held, reasons why person left the position, reports by employer of worker's proficiency, and job satisfaction of worker. Obviously, a combination of these criteria is more satisfactory than any single item. In his evaluation of the State Consultation Service at Richmond, Virginia, Froehlich moved toward a more adequate combination of criteria—criteria of occupational adjustment and personal adjustment, the client's attitude toward the counseling service and change in occupation, and his preparation for the job. Admirable as this effort is to obtain the most accurate opinions and to apply statistical methods as a test of the reliability and validity of the ratings, it has certain important limitations, clearly recognized by the investigator:

1. The agreement between the interviewer's and counselor's rating for occupational adjustment was not as high as desired.

2. Some of the questions are ones on which the client would not be expected to have much basis for judgment, such as the relative value of different counseling procedures, especially as the client's attention was not focused on the process.

3. The interviewer's basis for rating the client's adjustment was meager.

4. Much more information is needed about the individual's capacity and the environmental conditions that might make vocational and personal adjustment either easy or difficult for him, overriding, as it were, the effect of the counseling service per se.

A much more specialized aspect of evaluation of the college advisory system is to be presented at this meeting by Friedenberg. This represents an ingenious and detailed attempt to have the recipients of the service evaluate faculty advisers. From such an evaluation the faculty adviser can obtain many helpful suggestions for the improvement of his services. It clarifies the areas in which the faculty adviser can best work, and indicates the need for specialized services. The same limitation as was mentioned in the preceding study holds here, namely, the students' inadequate basis for evaluating a process in which they have had so little background of experience or study. However, the concrete cases do give the student an opportunity to focus attention objectively on the counseling process. After having obtained this information the problem of appraisal is still unsolved: Who is right—the student or the person who has studied counseling and psychotherapy?

EVALUATION OF PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC COUNSELING

Considerable work has been done on evaluating the non-directive interview. Much of this has been along the line of showing increased insight on the part of the client as the interviews continue. The assumption is that insights expressed in the interview are in themselves evidences of adjustment and will affect life adjustment. This assumption has been questioned. Consequently, evidence of adjustment in life situations over a long period of time has been considered the only valid measure of the success of the psychotherapeutic interview.

Even this criterion has its limitations insofar as environmental conditions may be so destructive as to prevent the good adjustment that might have taken place under ordinary conditions. Another limitation is the lack of evidence of the individual's initial capacity for adjustment. If the client's problem is deep seated, persistent, and pervasive,

failure to show much progress could not be attributed to poor counseling techniques.

EVALUATION OF GROUP WORK PROCEDURES

As in the evaluation of interviews, too much reliance has been placed on the subjective evaluation of the group work process. Some recent studies, however, have obtained reports from the participants themselves and from those who have had an opportunity to observe them some months later. For example, Lippitt obtained evidence of actual change in the performance of leaders who had spent two weeks in a workshop that featured group discussion, role playing in sociodrama, and interviewing. Both outside observers and the members of the workshop reported that because of the workshop they were able to do more effective work with their community groups.

THE COLLEGE EVALUATION OFFICER

A new position seems to be emerging in colleges and universities. This is the college evaluation officer, with training in measurement and evaluation. This work is closely related to, and has often grown out of, the research function of the personnel department. Such an officer was described by Findley in a meeting of the American Educational Research Association. This officer would render valuable advisory service to the faculty in defining objectives, developing instruments to measure them, assisting in the collection of data, and appraising and interpreting the information collected.

SUMMARY

The major limitations in evaluation studies seem to be:

1. Failure to define the outcomes of personnel work concretely as desirable measurable changes in students, faculty members, groups, and community.

2. A too narrow approach instead of a comprehensive study. All of the approaches that have been used in evaluating guidance procedures have some value. We need to know about the staff and the procedures being employed; student opinion and expert opinion as to the effectiveness of the procedures are helpful; follow-up studies supply essential information on life adjustment. The intensive study of specific techniques and the control-group and within-group experimental methods also contribute to our understanding of the effectiveness of student personnel work.

3. Mass rather than individual treatment of the data collected. Instead of studying the data collected as a group, an appraisal of each student should be made individually in

the light of his previous progress. This is the case-study approach to evaluation. It seems to be the only adequate way to appraise changes in students. It enables the investigator to take into account the student's capacity for adjustment to college and environmental conditions that may be reinforcing or defeating the college personnel program. A case study is made of each student; these records are studied individually and a judgment made of the student's social, emotional, physical, and intellectual development. These judgments may then be treated statistically and checked as to reliability and validity. In the case-study approach to evaluation the service and the research functions of student personnel work come together; one reinforces the other.

TEN YEARS OF EVALUATING GUIDANCE SERVICES

For the past 10 years the Bureau of Youth Services, Connecticut State Department of Education, has sponsored a systematic and cooperative program of secondary school evaluation. Nearly all of the schools of the state have taken advantage of this service and a substantial number have been evaluated two or three times during the period. Guidance services have been included in this evaluation program.

The Connecticut program of school evaluations in general and of guidance services in particular represents but one technique for implementing a democratic concept of supervision held by the State Department of Education. The entire process is a cooperative enterprise where school people throughout the state work together in an attempt to improve education for boys and girls of the

state. The program utilizes the Evaluative Criteria of the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, Form G designed for the guidance program.

Each year during the month of April a letter is sent to schools in the state along with appropriate forms for reply. The school may request an evaluation and also provide the names of people in each school, as well as laymen from the community, who might wish to serve on visiting committees. The request for evaluation is voluntary.

During the summer months the evaluation schedule is drawn up on a basis of information which has been provided. Dates are cleared, committees are assigned, and attention is given to organizing the program. Selected members of the State Department of Education are permanent chairmen of all

[From H. J. Mahoney, "Ten Years of Evaluating Guidance Services," *Occupations*, 29 (1950): 194-197. Reprinted by permission of *Occupations*.]

committees. Such chairmen have worked together on this project for several years and are thoroughly familiar with the plan of operation. The result is a smooth working team which knows the mechanics of evaluation.

Prior to the visitation by the evaluation committees, the school has made its own evaluation. The committees spend two days in each school. At about 2:30 of the second afternoon the faculty and evaluators meet together for reading and discussion of reports including that of the guidance committee.

Following are some impressions derived from our experience. These are listed rather categorically and their value may be in the questions and thinking they stimulate rather than in their factual content.

1. A carefully planned, well-conceived, and philosophically sound program of evaluation can and does serve many purposes:

(a) It is an effective means of promoting the extension of guidance services not only at the secondary school level but at the elementary and adult levels as well.

(b) It is a "natural" vehicle for involving lay participation, thus acquainting the people of the community with the work of our schools in general and of the guidance program in particular.

(c) It is one of the most effective in-service training programs that can be provided on a state-wide basis. The program involves hundreds of school personnel and through the cross-fertilization of ideas much is done to bring about a unity of thinking relative to modern educational philosophy and the place of guidance services within it.

(d) It provides an opportunity to really see what happens in a school. The doors are open and professional "probing" is the order of the day.

(e) In addition to providing an in-service training experience in itself, evaluation programs set the stage for follow-up programs of in-service training. Counselor-trainers can follow the program of evaluation around the state with work shops and

other types of in-service training programs for schools located close to each other.

(f) It is an effective means of lending support to the school in its attempt to acquaint the community with the need for guidance services.

(g) It is a profitable way to accumulate data which may be used ultimately for research purposes.

(h) It is a means of becoming personally acquainted with the school people of the state.

(i) It is a means of building personal confidence among co-workers without which supervisory purposes cannot be achieved.

(j) It is a means of identifying professional talent and potential leaders who may be used on committees, programs, and in similar activities.

(k) It is an effective means for letting schools see themselves as others see them.

(l) It provides the opportunity for a critical appraisal of the guidance program of a school as well as other phases of the program and makes it possible to recommend those conditions which will contribute to improvement.

There are many other purposes which might be served by evaluation if a critical analysis of it were continued. Those that have been mentioned will suffice to indicate that a well-conceived program of evaluation has so many desirable concomitants that it could with justification serve as the core supervisory technique operating on a state basis.

2. The "G" Form of the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards ought to be supplemented by other techniques.

This type of instrument must be used with the understanding that it is a quantitative measure and not an instrument for qualitative appraisal. It seeks to determine the extent to which essential guidance services and conditions exist in a school. It assumes that if such services exist to a high degree, boys and girls are well adjusted, they make good choices, they are mentally healthy, they are

working to capacity and they have achieved insight and self-understanding. It assumes that the guidance services really influence boys and girls and that changes take place when such changes are desirable.

These may be dangerous assumptions, for experience on several occasions reveals just the opposite. Although a generalization is not defensible because of insufficient data it has been observed in several instances that where guidance services and guidance personnel existed in a numerically high degree, apparently large numbers of youngsters were not being adequately helped. On the other hand, particularly in smaller schools, high levels of adjustment had been adjudged by boys and girls although guidance services, as such, were extremely limited and rated poorly as far as the G blank is concerned.

It has become apparent that the use of the G blank must be supplemented by qualitative studies which attempt to determine the quality and types of adjustment boys and girls are really making if the evaluation procedure itself is to be considered as a valid technique.

3. There is some basis for holding the opinion that the evaluation of the guidance program should be made as a part of the overall evaluation of the total school program rather than as an independent enterprise.

Naturally, there are many exceptions to this opinion and space does not permit an elaborate discussion of it. However, one factor that bears upon it will be mentioned. Guidance workers have in common with all other educators a responsibility for developing for each boy and girl a balanced educational program as well as supporting services. It might be possible, for example, that a State Supervisor of Industrial Arts working alone and in a neatly packaged special interest area could use the independent evaluation technique to overpromote the development of programs of industrial arts to the point where in terms of time, money, and physical facilities, etc., other equally valid programs are minimized. Perhaps the social

studies group with its play on citizenship could demand so much time for its program that the areas of home and family living, health, fundamentals, and other equally important educational objectives suffer in comparison.

The evaluation of the guidance program as one phase of the evaluation of the total school program does provide some insurance that a balance will be maintained. This is not to say that guidance workers should lessen their zeal for promoting the extension of guidance programs through many other different types of techniques. It is to say, however, that in terms of formal evaluations the evaluation of guidance programs as a part of the total school evaluation may be preferable.

4. Closely associated with this last point is the fact that the evaluating committee on guidance must be sensitive to the next steps which the school is ready and able to take.

The recommendation of a comprehensive testing program, for example, may be commendable if the staff is equipped and ready to use the results intelligently. If such is not the case, then probably a more modest type of recommendation is in order. In terms of need and counselor-pupil ratio, the recommendation of two additional counselors may be defensible but if the administration doesn't see the purpose then perhaps that recommendation had better be reconsidered. Recommended group work for therapeutic purposes may be professionally sound but if teachers themselves, in their daily work with pupils, violate all of the principles which therapy implies, then perhaps another type of recommendation would be in order at this point in the development of guidance services for a particular school.

There has been a tendency to claim too much for guidance per se without fully realizing that its effectiveness is conditioned by hundreds of other aspects of school life which in reality determine how far it can go in achieving its purposes. There must be sensitivity to the present status and the nature of recommendations should be such as

have a real chance of being successfully achieved. It is well to be ahead of the procession but not to the point where one is being chased rather than followed.

5. Members of visiting committees must have a thorough orientation to the entire evaluation program and to the role each is to play.

Consequently, it is desirable to establish conferences early in the school year where this type of in-service training may be provided. At such sessions particular emphasis must be placed upon the whole question of the interpersonal relations that are involved. Jittery teachers and staff members who think "other" motives lie behind evaluations must be treated with an understanding of human emotions if the evaluation program itself is not to backfire.

6. Reports must be short and to the point.

The formal report should be concerned primarily with broad recommendations rather than with the minutia of details. Emphasis should be on encouragement rather than censure. The attempt is made, as far as the Connecticut program is concerned, to keep narrative reports down to about 25 pages for the total report and to about one and one-half pages for the guidance report. Admittedly, this policy does create some difficulty because it does not allow for sufficient detail. To offset this, the school, in addition to checking the G blank, is asked to complete another checklist which is very detailed and lengthy. This is reviewed, modified, and considered by the evaluating committee and it is left with the school as a supplement to the short general report. In this way, then, the school has a general report which is a part of the total report and at the same time it receives a detailed statement which fills in the gaps left by the former.

7. It is essential to have a meeting of chairmen of all committees before reports are in final form.

At this time each of the major recommendations is presented for discussion. In this way conflicts are avoided, a reasonable

balance is struck relative to recommending additional personnel, conflicts in philosophy are cleared away, and a unity of purpose and agreement is given to the report. This is an indispensable part of the evaluation procedure.

8. The need has been identified for a follow-up program of in-service training for the purpose of implementing the recommendations of the evaluating committees.

This represents one of the many ways in which a counselor-trainer can be of practical service. Problems have been identified. Recommendations have been made which usually demand increased skills and refined practices on the part of school staff. This becomes a natural opportunity for the counselor-trainer. The initial motivation has been accomplished and his becomes an important responsibility.

9. The committees must be competent.

If a committee is not competent then it may mean that the chairman of the committee must spend his time bringing the committee members to a desirable level of competence thus defeating the primary purpose of evaluation.

10. Too many evaluations for too many of the same people, particularly if one person "chairs" the same committee time after time, can become rather deadening.

An excessive program of school guidance evaluations reduces the enthusiasm which one has for it. There is a tendency to become impatient, to generalize too much, to become superficial, bored, and sometimes outright tired of the whole business.

In conclusion, it might be noted that the school organization itself frequently works at cross purposes with the objectives of the guidance program. The curriculum may be inadequate. The climate of the classroom may be in conflict with what has been learned about the nature of the pupil. The subject-matter emphasis may be stifling.

The use of the evaluation procedure offers one of our best devices to extend guidance programs, provided it is recognized that the services cannot operate in a vacuum.

36. FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

The follow-up study is a technique for evaluating guidance programs, and it may satisfy to some extent the basic requisite that evaluation should be based as much as possible upon objective data. However, it must be emphasized that in most follow-up studies objective criteria are used in conjunction with criteria that are subjective in nature, such as opinions of school graduates, drop-outs, employers, parents, and others.

A basic and very justifiable criticism of follow-up studies is that they often fall short of attaining the purpose for which they are conducted; that is, they are not used as a basis for implementation of those changes and modifications in the curricular arrangement which they indicate as being desirable. Too often a questionnaire is distributed to former students and after its return the data are apparently left without analysis or even consideration by administrators, guidance personnel, and teachers.

John Dahl in the following reading provides further documentation of the inadequate analysis and distribution of data obtained by the follow-up procedure. In reading the article, the reader should determine for himself the ways in which follow-up information can be utilized to improve the curriculum and, more specifically, the guidance services.

ARE FOLLOW-UP STUDIES WORTH THEIR SALT?

The potentialities of follow-up studies as a means of evaluating and improving educational programs have been pointed out in the literature. Textbooks in the field of guidance usually include a discussion of the purposes and values of such studies. But a practical question remains: Are these potentialities being realized? In other words, do school officials put into practice the things they learn or the "hunches" they verify

through such studies? Do they use the results to improve curriculum, instruction, and guidance services? Are follow-up studies really worth their salt?

In order to answer these questions, an appraisal was made of the effectiveness of each of the studies that made up the California Cooperative Study of School Drop-outs and Graduates. Information was gathered to determine how the results of the local studies

[From John A. Dahl, "Are Follow-up Studies Worth Their Salt?" *Now Hear Youth*, California State Department of Education, Sacramento, 1953, 49-58.
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had been used and what the people concerned thought of the follow-up study technique. Through personal interviews and questionnaires statements were obtained from those who had directed the studies, from school administrators and other staff members who had had some part in the studies and thus were in a position to judge. Some 30 interviews were held in 15 of the cooperating schools and questionnaires were used in 8.

Following are the major findings.

HOW RESULTS WERE USED

Distribution of reports. Of the 18 schools that indicated to whom final reports of their studies were distributed, 15 had given complete reports to the school administration, 12 had given them to the guidance personnel, 6 to the faculty, and 5 to the board of education. On the other hand, 9 schools had not sent members of the board of education even a partial report of the findings, and in 10 schools neither community groups nor the student body had been provided with copies. It appears, then, that the distribution of the reports fell short of the desired goal.

The advantages that might have been secured through wide dissemination of the results in the school and community were suggested by one county survey director:

If lay people and educators, working together, can identify common problems and identify themselves with these problems and seek solutions together, progress toward better educational gains for young people will be assured.

Curriculum revision. Officials were asked, "How have the results of the follow-up study been used in revision of the curriculum?" Only one school administrator out of the nine who reported believed that the study had made a direct contribution to curriculum revision; three reported an indirect contribution; two, no contribution; two, unknown contribution; and one, "under com-

mittee study." Ten directors of studies had similar reactions. Of eight other faculty members questioned, six felt that the studies had made little or no contribution and two believed that an indirect contribution had been made.

In a few cases the studies definitely led to changes. A principal of an urban high school stated that the study contributed to a change in mathematics offerings:

Practical mathematics courses for most students were moved from the freshman year to junior or senior year. Also English courses were strengthened by increased stress on composition.

Some faculty members felt that the studies served to corroborate previously conceived ideas or plans for curriculum improvement. "The study strengthens the move toward general education courses such as Life Problems and Practical Economics," reported the chairman of a follow-up study committee in a junior college. In one school, staff members were reported to be indignant because their graduates claimed they had not been taught to study. However, it can be noted that that school has since prepared a printed bulletin for students on study techniques!

It was pointed out in several schools that it was too early to judge results since the studies had just recently been completed and committees of teachers currently were studying the data.

Guidance services. "How have the results of the follow-up study been used in revising the guidance program or facilities?" In answering this question, about half of the respondents (15 out of 28) felt that the studies had made little or no contribution in this area; nine felt that they had made an indirect contribution; and four said the results were "under committee study" or had made an "unknown contribution." However, some reported that the findings "resulted in the employment of a reading specialist." An-

other report indicated that the study "was the precipitating factor in increasing the time available for counseling." A principal of a high school enrolling 1,200 students said that during the year following the release of the study findings a complete revision of the guidance program had taken place, and that he felt the follow-up study was instrumental in this action. A counselor in a rural high school said that the follow-up study data had proved especially valuable to him in counseling currently enrolled students.

Extracurricular activities. Still another question asked was, "How have the follow-up study results been used in the evaluation of school practices such as the extracurricular activities?" Most of the respondents (20 out of 28) said that no contribution had been made in this area. Two indirect contributions were noted. One study director stated that the findings "have helped some teachers appreciate the value of extraclass activities." A director of a junior college study noted that the study revealed there was "too much domination (of activities) by former high school clubs and leaders. No change has been made; more clubs now exist but the total program lacks maturity."

Post-school services. Another inquiry was, "How have the results of the follow-up study been used in setting up additional services to former students, e.g., placement, counseling, adult classes, etc.?" No evidence of any action along this line was reported. A rural high school counselor expressed a common feeling in these words:

The study made specific recommendations as the result of findings in connection with adult education classes, placement, and counseling. But the results have not been used in this way.

In-service education. A further question which had implications for in-service education was, "How have the results of the follow-up study been used in gaining a better understanding of the activities of former

students?" Again the majority of respondents indicated that no use had been made of the data in this phase of the school program. However, two administrators believed that the studies had served to increase faculty awareness of the needs and feelings of students.

Public relations. A final question regarding use of data was, "How have the results of the follow-up study been used in the public relations program of the school?" Of 27 respondents, 10 indicated that the results had been used for this purpose only at the time the final report was released. This was generally in the form of newspaper articles or editorials. Occasional use was reported by three persons, an example being the presentation of the data "to industrial personnel men through guidance workshops in business and industry." Of the others, 11 said that no use was made of the results in this connection, while three did not know what use, if any, had been made of them.

One director of a county-wide study pointed out that follow-up studies in themselves have public relations values.

They are *part* of the public relations program. Several drop-outs wrote, "I'm glad you remembered me. Let me know how I can help."

In summary. Thirty-five staff members were asked to estimate the over-all use of follow-up study findings in the 18 schools in which they were employed. All were in a position to observe and make judgments on the question. A scale ranging from "full use" to "little or no use" was provided for their responses. Here are the results:

Full use	0
Adequate use	4
Some use	15
Little or no use	14

The other two respondents said that it was too early to judge the results in their schools.

EVALUATION OF THE FOLLOW-UP STUDY TECHNIQUE

Staff members also were asked to evaluate the follow-up study as an educational technique. Of the 35 who responded, 11 were chief administrative officers, 13 were study directors, 5 were vice-principals, 2 were directors of guidance, 2 were deans of boys or girls, 1 was a curriculum director, and 1 was a teacher of group guidance classes.

When they were asked "What has prevented greater use being made of the data collected by the study?" they cited three major obstacles:

1. The staff lacked time to follow through on the recommendations.
2. The sampling of former students was inadequate.
3. Not enough members of the school staff participated in the studies.

Several respondents pointed out that the samples were overweighted with college preparatory students and thus did not yield a true picture of the school program. Study directors particularly felt that if more staff members had been involved in the studies greater benefits would have resulted. "They would have had a stake in the results," one put it. Some persons felt that had the findings been more generally publicized within the school, greater use would have been made of them. "If we don't know about the findings, how can we make use of them?" was a typical comment.

Among the other reasons given for failure to use the data to better advantage were poor planning or execution of the study and personal feelings of key school personnel.

Usefulness of technique. "Do you feel that this is a useful technique for studying the work of any school?" Two thirds of the 35 respondents related the technique as very useful while the others felt that it had limited or questionable usefulness. One of the latter group, a county coordinator of secondary education, put his finger on a crucial weakness of many follow-up studies when he said:

At present, the follow-up study is only a good idea. It's not much else. Most schools are not organized from the standpoint of either philosophy or program to do anything with the data collected as a result of a follow-up study but file it!

It seems obvious to me that as much work needs to be done with educators as with lay people at the level of instituting a school program that will effectively make use of devices such as follow-up studies for the improvement of the school program. This being the case, it is, as always, up to individual leadership to take a few steps forward, hoping to stimulate the rest to follow.

PLANNING BETTER FOLLOW-UP STUDIES

From the evidence it is apparent that the findings of these studies have been put to little use. Yet a strong majority of the 35 staff members involved definitely feel that such studies have a potential value and should not be abandoned. In fact, 24 of them said they would be willing to lead or participate in another follow-up study during the next year. What needs to be done then to attain a greater value and to justify more fully the time and effort involved in follow-up studies?

The experiences of those who directed or were otherwise closely associated with these local studies form the basis for the following conclusions.

1. *Follow-up studies should be carried to their logical conclusion.* They have three phases: (1) the systematic gathering of information from former students, (2) the presentation and interpretation of that information to all persons concerned, and (3) the planned development of modifications in the educational program which the findings justify. If steps 2 and 3 are not carried out, a follow-up study becomes a stillborn research project. Unless the activities represented in these steps become a part of the

ongoing process of education, follow-up studies will remain almost wholly ineffective.

2. *Follow-up studies should be made at regular intervals.* Several respondents suggested that schools would benefit if follow-up studies were conducted on a regular basis rather than being left to chance. A systematic schedule would not only provide a regular source of data on changing educational needs in the community, but also increase staff skill in conducting studies, and make it possible to instruct students concerning their future participation in the studies. This does not necessarily mean that a study should be made every year; a particular school might determine that an interval of two, three, or five years was adequate for its purposes.

3. *Follow-up studies should be school projects, not one-man projects.* The greatest single weakness of the present studies, according to the persons involved, was that they were one-man projects in most instances and therefore were restricted in terms of support, interest, and subsequent action on the findings. They should have involved at least a representative group of faculty members. In addition to staff members, students, parents, and other lay citizens might have been included in certain phases of the projects.

4. *Follow-up study results must be handled effectively.* Serious attention should be given to the process of interpreting and publicizing the data. Better techniques of presenting data to professional and lay groups need to be developed in order to gain their understanding and support. Neglect of this important phase can nullify a great deal of effort spent in gathering facts.

5. *Technical aspects of conducting follow-up studies deserve greater attention.* Next to "wider participation of staff members," respondents cited most often the need to plan follow-up studies more carefully and to improve the questionnaires used. Six persons stated that the questionnaires used were too long and the questions too difficult to understand, while two felt that more

"nonvocational" questions should have been used.

BETTER TECHNIQUES

The questionnaire. A somewhat shorter questionnaire than the ones used in many of these studies, patterned after the form used in Kern County,¹ is shown at the end of this article. Questions have been simplified and, in most cases, placed in check-list form for easy response. Further modifications to fit local needs can be made.

Sampling. The question of sampling came up in connection with certain studies and should be briefly discussed here. When the number of individuals to be followed up is large, it may be neither feasible nor desirable to attempt to reach all of them. In such cases, the sampling procedure may be used advantageously. With a given amount of time and money, a more reliable set of data may be obtained from a random sample of a group than from the group as a whole. As an illustration, a 100 percent return from a sample of 300 persons (one fourth of a group of 1,200) probably would produce more representative information than a 60 percent unselected return from the total group, although in the latter case the actual number of replies would be more than twice as great.

A satisfactory method of obtaining a random sample is to write the names of all persons in the group to be covered on slips of paper, scramble the slips in a box, and then draw out slips one at a time until the desired sample (10 percent, 25 percent, 50 percent, etc.) is reached. This method will produce a more representative sample than the method of selecting names at intervals from an alphabetical list.

Once the sample is derived, the task of securing complete returns must be persistently undertaken.

Getting high returns. High returns were

¹ Editors' Note: Kern County and the high schools referred to subsequently in this article are in California.

achieved in several of the studies but not without considerable work and persistent follow-up inquiries. An account of how the director of the Santa Paula High School study secured responses from 95 percent of a group of 136 graduates may be helpful. In the spring, students in the senior class were informed of plans for conducting a follow-up study two years later and of the possible benefits to the school of such an undertaking. During commencement week three students were appointed to help the study director (their class adviser) when the time came. These students later proved to be of much assistance in locating former classmates who had moved or "dropped out of sight." As the director reported:

In April, 1950, a complete list of names, addresses, and phone numbers of the graduates was compiled from the high school records. A copy of this list was given to each of the three students, who made revisions from the information they had obtained. Telephone calls were made to all those students having numbers listed to inform them that the survey questionnaire was soon to be mailed. The telephone calls also provided current addresses of those who were living away from home or serving in the armed forces. From these sources the mailing list was revised.

An informal personal letter which accompanied the questionnaire reminded the graduates of the plans that had been made earlier, pointed out the potential value of their replies to present students, and urged their immediate response. It also contained an offer to publish a newsletter telling of the post high school experiences of their classmates if they indicated a desire for one. A two-page questionnaire was used and a return envelope was provided. The letters were mailed during the first week of May. At the end of the fifth week when the responses began to drop off, a return-reply postcard was mailed to those who had failed

to respond. This brought 20 additional replies. Only seven failed to respond, including two whose addresses were unknown. Subsequently, some information on these seven persons was secured through letters received after the distribution of a seven-page newsletter!

A second example of good practice is that of the Tracy High School study covering 436 graduates from five different classes. A 70 percent return was secured by the use of three postcard reminders sent at two-week intervals and finally the mailing of a second copy of the questionnaire to nonrespondents during the seventh week of the study. A self-addressed business reply envelope was enclosed with each mailed questionnaire so that the school paid the postage on all replies. Sometimes personal notes were included as additional incentives to reply.

Among the larger studies, the Long Beach Senior High School study deserves special mention. The classes of 1939, 1944, and 1949 from the three large high schools were sampled. Out of a total of 1,782 questionnaires actually received by graduates, 1,381 or 77 percent were completed and returned. In addition to the covering letter which explained the purposes and values of the study, postcard reminders were sent to those graduates who did not respond promptly. Later a second letter was mailed to those who still failed to reply.

Los Angeles school officials were able to achieve almost complete coverage of the class selected for follow-up through a series of postcard reminders and the cooperation of child welfare and attendance supervisors who located many former students by making house calls.

Estimating costs. The cost of a follow-up study should be estimated and, of course, approved before the study is begun. Costs vary depending upon the size and character of the projects. As a guide, the following data on expenditures in the Tracy Union High School study are listed. In this case the cost was approximately 25 cents for each return.

500 stamps	\$15.00	6 mimeograph stencils	1.20
500 school envelopes	3.85	500 printed goldenrod business	
1 ream school letterhead sta-		reply envelopes	9.57
tionery	8.03	550—2-cent return-postal cards	22.00
4 reams white legal-length mim-		Return postage (295 answers	
eograph paper	6.40	@ 4¢ each)	11.80
		Total	\$77.85

SUGGESTED FORM OF QUESTIONNAIRE FOR USE IN
FOLLOW-UP STUDIES OF FORMER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS *

ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT
CONFIDENTIAL

Name of School	Date		
Mr.			
Your Name: Miss			
Mrs. _____			
If "Mrs." Give your maiden name here: _____			
Permanent address: _____			
(This is the address through which we can be sure of reaching you at any time)			
1. Are you A. <input type="checkbox"/> Single	C. <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced or Separated		
B. <input type="checkbox"/> Married	D. <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed (Check one of these)		
If married, how many children do you have? _____			
2. What are you doing now? (Check one or more)			
A. <input type="checkbox"/> Working for pay, full-time	G. <input type="checkbox"/> In armed forces		
B. <input type="checkbox"/> Working for pay, part-time	H. <input type="checkbox"/> Not working, but looking for a job		
C. <input type="checkbox"/> In school, full-time	I. <input type="checkbox"/> Not working; Not looking for a job		
D. <input type="checkbox"/> In school, part-time	J. <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please describe) _____		
E. <input type="checkbox"/> Housewife			
F. <input type="checkbox"/> In business for self			
3. Please list below any additional education you have had since leaving high school: (INCLUDE all types of education or training.)			
Name of School	Course Taken	Months Spent	Diploma or Degree
4. What vocation did you select as your life work when you were in high school?			
5. What kind of life work do you now actually expect to do?			
6. What could the high school have done to make your experience here more helpful to you?			

* Adapted from a form used in Kern County, California.

7. IF YOU DROPPED OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL BEFORE GRADUATION,
this is a very important question:

Will you tell us very frankly the *real* reason or reasons why you left high school? Your honest answer may help us to improve our high school. Some students leave high school because of financial need, ill health, dislike of school in general or some person in particular, failure in school work, desire to go to work, marriage, or change of residence (moving out of the district). Please think through your own experience and give the real reasons why you dropped out.

8. We would like to know how you rate the *HELP* your high school gave you on the following problems: (Please check the proper column for each item)

PROBLEM	<i>The High School Helped Me</i>			
	A Great Deal	Some what	Little or none	(I'm Not Certain)
A. Using your spare time _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
B. Taking care of your health _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
C. Taking part in community and civic affairs _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
D. Marriage and family affairs _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
E. Getting a job _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
F. Getting along with other people _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
G. Preparing for further education _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
H. Understanding your abilities and interests _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I. Ability to read well _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
J. Using good English _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
K. Using basic mathematical skills _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
L. Using your money wisely _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
M. Conducting your own business affairs _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
N. Thinking through problems _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. If you now live in the school district, please tell whether this high school can be of further service to you?
-

(Only those who have had full-time employment experience since leaving high school need to answer the rest of our questions)

IF YOU HAVE HAD FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

10. Please describe the jobs you have held since leaving high school:

Employer (or Firm)	Title of Job (or Kind of Work)	Date You Started	Months On Job	Approximate Weekly Wage
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

11. To what extent has your high school training helped you on your present job?
A. A great deal. B. Some. C. Little or none. D. Not Certain.
12. Have any specific high-school courses or activities been of *special* value to you on your present job? (Check the blanks of those which have helped)
A. English G. Mathematics M. Agriculture
B. Speech H. Sports N. Homemaking
C. Bookkeeping I. Science
D. Typing J. Student Government (Write in other courses)
E. Business Math K. Student Activities
F. Shop Subjects L. High-school Hobby
-
13. Which of the following helped you most in getting your first steady job after leaving high school? (Please check one or more)
A. Parents or Relatives E. School (Teacher, Counselor, or other Person)
B. Friends F. My Own Efforts
C. Newspaper Ad G. Other: _____
D. Public Employment Agency
14. Where was the knowledge or training needed in your present job gained? (Check one or more)
A. High School C. My Hobbies E. At Home
B. College D. Other Job Experiences F. On-The-Job Training

THAT'S ALL—AND THANK YOUR FOR YOUR HELP AND COOPERATION.

• XV •

Contemporary Emphasis in Guidance

37. TRENDS IN GUIDANCE

THE beginning of this book stressed the new demand for guidance services and the great social need for identification and utilization of each individual's talents. Meeting this challenge is of vital importance to the existence and progress of our culture. It is consequently of interest and value to note the trends in guidance during the last decade. Do the trends indicate a readiness on the part of guidance workers and enough maturity of techniques and philosophy to enable us to meet these needs? Wherein lie the strengths and weaknesses of guidance as currently practiced? Along what lines should guidance workers devote their creative energies?

37. TRENDS IN GUIDANCE

This section presents a reading that attempts to state the current status of guidance, its specific services and techniques, and some unsolved problems.

The reading gives evidence of current progress and emphases in guidance. Despite the progress that has been made, much remains to be done.

There are still too many individuals who occupy the position of counselor in our public schools without having been professionally trained for that responsibility. And many of those who have been properly trained are frustrated by counselee loads that are much too heavy and by tasks that could be as well performed by clerical help.

The counselor is still uncertain of his professional relationship with other personnel working with students—the psychologist, the social worker, the psychiatrist, and others. This is evidenced by the frequent lack of effective communication among these various disciplines. Counselors also lack a stated and practiced code of ethics which would give them direction in making many decisions. Too few counselors give adequate support to the national and local guidance associations which help to professionalize any group.

Much work remains to be done in the perfecting of certain guidance techniques. A counseling technique applicable to the public school situation with its unique demands of heavy counselee loads, definition of role, and student needs has not yet been found. Appraisal techniques are being constantly improved, but interpretation of the data gathered by these improved instruments still needs research and implementation. More effective use of group guidance procedures can be made once research is done concerning how and when to use them.

Further questions remain. Is the part-time counselor less effective than the full-time counselor? Is the assignment of counselees to counselors and the consequent compulsory sessions, as practiced in many public schools, better than the self-referral, case-load approach of the typical college counseling center? What guidance practices need to be perfected for the elementary schools?

These are some of the yet unsolved problems of guidance. The following reading by McDaniel amplifies them further and indicates additional unsolved problems that need resolution.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN GUIDANCE

SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

Counseling has not, of course, reached any-
thing like a state of perfection. Many prob-

lems are yet to be solved in the development
of guidance services. It is impossible in a
brief statement to present all the unresolved
problems which prevent the full achieve-

[From H. B. McDaniel, "New Directions in Guidance," *Guidance in the Modern School*, New York: Henry Holt, 1955, pp. 465-471. Reprinted by permission of the author and publisher.]

ment of the objectives of guidance, but a few of the major issues, which represent focal points for continuing research, are presented below.

Problems in Clarifying Responsibilities

Guidance services are not necessarily limited to those which public education can provide; yet, in most American communities, the public school is the primary agency for education and personal growth. Guidance services do not, of course, replace teaching services. The guidance program is facilitative: the counselor supplements and facilitates the work of the teacher, who is the key figure in the educational structure.

Guidance activities serve the student who is making normal progress in school by helping both him and the teaching staff to a clearer understanding of his abilities and interests, by supplying him with the information he needs for personal planning, and by helping him to establish goals and formulate plans for achieving those goals. Since many of these objectives can be accomplished in group sessions, the normal student may have little individual contact with guidance specialists. The opposite is usually true, however, for the student who is contending with unusual problems: the counselor has the responsibility for concentrating personal attention upon the deviate student and for helping him to smooth out his difficulties.

The counselor, obviously, has broad educational responsibilities. He works with both pupils and staff, with both the individual and the group; he must understand and apply many of the disciplines and practices of both school administration and teaching; he is concerned with curriculum planning and development, with sociological study and social services; and in many instances he is not only the school counselor but also the psychometrist and therapist. Because these are vital responsibilities to place upon the members of a guidance staff, a number of questions arise: Who is adequate to meet such broad and diversified problems as those with which the guidance worker must deal? How can a program confronted with such

great responsibilities be evaluated? Are present school programs meeting these responsibilities? Is there evidence that some types of programs are better than others? Is any one counseling approach or process superior to others in school situations? To what extent are research findings being applied? Are these specific problems on which further research and experimentation are needed?

Although certain guide lines for effective school counseling can now be established, numerous problems remain unsolved. Many of these questions cannot now be definitely answered; all of them suggest fruitful fields for further study and research.

Problems of Educational Policy

Many school administrators take the view that all teachers are counselors and that there is no need for specialization in this function. Yet teachers report that the problems of only two or three children in a classroom group of thirty-five may demand as much as one-quarter of their total teaching effort, thus seriously reducing the instructor's effectiveness with the whole group. Furthermore, teachers who have truly disturbed pupils insist that they need specialized help in working with such children. The fact of the matter is, however, that the role of the specialist has not yet been clearly delineated within the spectrum of educational services: the guidance worker, the psychologist, the social worker, and other specialists still need recognition and status in the pattern of school routine. This failure is due in part, no doubt, to the fact that the concept of individual differences—so basic in dealing with mental-hygiene problems—has itself not yet been recognized in its true dimensions. It is only realistic to expect that in situations in which the mental-hygiene aspects of the school program are unappreciated and unrealized, the importance of trained guidance workers is also minimized.

Even school systems which set up worthwhile objectives in terms of the growth and development of pupils will fail to realize their goals unless their programs are im-

plemented by competent and devoted personnel. This, of course, means that guidance services must be recognized in the school budget; in many cases they are not. Some schools report spending as little as one dollar per year per pupil for the services of specialists; other school systems report allocations as great as fifteen dollars per year per pupil for guidance purposes. No clear-cut pattern and no standards of expenditure have as yet been established. These figures relate only to the expenditures for the operation of the program and do not refer to the capital-outlay aspects of the school budget, such as building construction. Too often, systems employ specialists but do not provide plant facilities for them, thus handicapping their work.

Professional counselors and other guidance workers have yet to describe their needs in terms of building standards. Many schools are attempting to carry on counseling functions with little or no provision for the basic requirements of privacy, comfort, the physical features of a proper psychological climate, and the storing of necessary records and materials. In the next decade or so American school systems will be spending billions of dollars for new school plants. The question arises: what kinds of counseling offices and other guidance-service facilities will be provided in this vast program?

Most school systems, of course, do aspire to the development of an adequate guidance program; but the data so far available do not permit the establishment of standards in either the area of personnel or the area of space requirements. School administrators and boards of education need help in identifying the specifics which constitute an adequate program. The solution to this problem requires keeping complete records, thorough evaluation, and more effective reporting of the findings of guidance studies in the general literature of educational research.

Problems of Professional Relationships

This century has seen great advances in the field of the behavioral sciences, especially in psychology, sociology, anthropology,

economics, psychiatry, and the social sciences. Trained practitioners are now arising within all these disciplines; and, in a general sense, workers in all these fields accept the basic objectives of the guidance specialist. The very fact that representatives of various disciplines are working toward the same objectives and that all are dealing with human beings—with children, adults, and family units—leads to ever-increasing sensitiveness to problems of interrelationships and to keener perception of possible solutions. Research dealing with people, both as individuals and in groups, has proceeded apace, and new fields for the practitioner in human relations have been developed.

Clear-cut definitions of professional objectives have not yet been established by these various disciplines. The school counselor works with and seeks to make use of the services of all of them. Even within the field of psychology itself, counseling and psychotherapy have not been clearly differentiated, although attempts have been made to distinguish between their objectives on the basis of the intensity of the client's problem. Psychotherapy has been identified by some with the development of therapeutic processes for working with the seriously disturbed patient, whereas counseling has been more closely identified with evolving processes for meeting the guidance needs of the normal person. Psychiatry, in its various areas of specialization, deals with both normal and severely disturbed clients. Similarly, the practicing sociologist is concerned with both normal and deviant persons through his interest in group behavior, in mores, and in value systems.

Perhaps a few examples will help to distinguish these disciplines from one another. Some of the types of treatment used in psychotherapy are electric shock, insulin shock, and depth analysis. Psychiatry, in dealing with the severely disturbed, may employ the same methods; in dealing with the "normal" patient—the individual suffering from anxiety and tension—psychiatry often uses counseling methods. The sociologist and

the anthropologist are of vital service in explaining to the practitioner the value systems which hold for particular patients; children in slum areas, for example, are apt to believe that fighting is not misbehavior: a fellow has to stand up for his rights; in more privileged neighborhoods, speeding in hot rods and drinking beer are considered acceptable behavior by adolescents, and the counselor who condemns such behavior may fail to establish rapport with a client.

The relationship of these special fields needs further clarification. A clue to the ways in which they cooperate is offered by the pattern of development in the medical sciences: medical practice, out of its long history of experimentation, has developed the clinic, in which a variety of specialists participate in the examination and diagnosis of a patient's condition, but responsibility for the integration of the whole process is usually placed in the hands of one practitioner. In other words, each specialist makes his own unique contribution, yet the basic therapeutic relationship with the patient remains the responsibility of one person.

This goal has not yet been achieved among the social scientists; too often the social worker proceeds in one direction, the psychologist in another, and the teacher in still another, so that no one practitioner helps the client to see the situation as a whole, although the process of assistance for a client demands a fusion of the work of all. This confusion among the various special fields is a definite professional problem. Its solution will require further experimentation, further agreement on common objectives, the establishment of relationships among various professional associations and groups, and clear-cut patterns of referral and communication.

Problems of Relationships with Parents

The establishment of effective working relationships with parents remains a perplexing educational and guidance problem. Cur-

rently, the parents of children in their first few years of school keep in close contact with the teacher and with the children's progress; in fact, at the elementary-school level, the program of parent-teacher conferences, parent observation, and the maintenance of close parent ties with the school has furthered guidance efforts.

As pupils reach mid-school years, however, this helpful relationship tends to break down; its deterioration is unfortunate, for it is during these adolescent years that students meet new problems and, in many cases, face for the first time dilemmas of evaluation and decision. During this phase of their growth, young people have especially urgent need of parental support and understanding; often definite family planning is required. It is unrealistic, for example, for a school counselor to plan with a ninth-grade student an educational program and a vocational objective which extends through four years of high school and possibly four to six years of college without the close collaboration and support of the parents; yet, this kind of one-sided planning occurs all too frequently. Its weaknesses are, of course, obvious: encouraging a youngster to plan for a career as a concert pianist when his parents want him to enter the family business because the father is in bad health is simply to court disappointment, for the family may lack both interest and economic means to further such an ambition. To help a pupil in planning a college program when it will be necessary for him to go to work to support an aging mother as soon as he is out of high school is, similarly, to ignore distressing realities in the situation.

This problem of unrealistic planning for young people has many aspects. In some cases the parents themselves are at fault; since it is not customary for parents to visit the secondary school or to participate extensively in its program, teachers and counselors feel that parents are not interested. Parents, for their part, report that they do not feel welcome in the school—that the student feels that if the parent is invited for

a conference, some kind of negative report on his behavior is imminent. This concept, unfortunately, is fostered by many school practices. Parents are ordinarily called in by the school only when a student is doing unsatisfactory work or is a behavior problem. Specific "warning" notices of failing performance are sent home at marking periods. Instances of negative behavior, failure, tardiness, absence, rudeness, aggression, and insubordination are made the basis of contact. Parents are too seldom invited in to hear reports of outstanding achievement or leadership experiences and other specific evidence of the desirable growth and development of their children.

A new approach to the recognition of mutual responsibility is needed. A defini-

tive plan for effective working relationships between parents and teachers should be established, especially for secondary schools. Steps in the right direction are: improved communication between home and school, more frequent use of parent-teacher-counselor conferences, wider use of student-parent committees, "back-to-school" events in which parents visit and go through the daily schedule (in short periods) of their children, and so on. Teachers and counselors need to meet parents on common grounds and with sharing attitudes. The question to bear in mind in such a meeting is not "What shall I tell about this boy?" but rather "What more can I learn about this boy and his needs?" With this attitude, the participants can build working relationships.



Form No. 3.

PSY, RES.L-1

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